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NEW COMMUNITY CIVICS

BY

R. O. HUGHES

PEABODY HIGH SCHOOL, PITTSBURGH



ALLYN AND BACON

BOSTON

NEW YORK

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ATLANTA

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BY R. O. HUGHES

F. A. O.

FOREWORD

A NATION is safe for democracy only when it is composed of citizens who think seriously and intelligently, and who act on their convictions.

The boys and girls of our schools constitute the source from which a thinking citizenship of this kind must be developed.

Every one is in some degree his brother's keeper.

The belief that these three principles are true and fundamental is responsible for *Community Civics*. It is not a compilation of facts. Some facts are vital, and most of the specific statements of the book are worth remembering, but the great emphasis has been placed on making the pupil think for himself. As an aid in this direction, questions and suggestions for thought and investigation are placed in the body of the text where the pupil cannot help seeing them, as well as at the end of each chapter. There are also special topics requiring original investigation, which can profitably be assigned to individual members of a class; but neither the questions nor the topics are exhaustive, nor does each class need to take up every one.

These principles and practices which underlay the first presentation of *Community Civics* are as valid as ever. It has seemed wise, however, to prepare a complete revision of the original work. The subject matter has been completely reorganized, and new illustrations appear throughout. Topics which would undoubtedly be treated in a course in economic or vocational civics have been omitted or given less consideration here than in the earlier work.

It always should be within the province of each teacher and class to take up the topics which are here considered in whatever order seems most suitable. The rearrangement of topics in the new book will cause no difficulty to teachers who wish to present the material in a different order. The addition of specific references for reading at the end of chapters, and the statement of the problem of each chapter in the beginning, with a brief summarizing paragraph at the end, will doubtless be helpful in many cases. It is hoped that the usefulness which the original work has appeared to have will in no wise be diminished by this new treatment of the same topics, but that possibly additional service may be rendered by the effort to take advantage of suggestions, criticisms, and changes that have come to notice during the years in which the original *Community Civics* has been in service.

R. O. HUGHES

PEABODY HIGH SCHOOL
PITTSBURGH

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THE NEW COMMUNITY CIVICS

PART I

COMMUNITY LIFE AND WELFARE

CHAPTER I

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBERS

America is not anything if it consists of each of us. It is something only if it consists of all of us.—Wilson.

No person in a civilized country can be independent of his neighbor. What are the various "neighborhoods" in which we live? Are there any other reasons than necessity which cause us to live in groups rather than as single characters?

1. "The Life Together."—It was the first chapel exercise of a new college year. The boys had assembled to hear what the President had to say to them in the way of advice or suggestion about the year's work. In the course of his remarks the speaker—he was President Faunce of Brown University—used a phrase that stayed for years in the minds of his hearers. He spoke of their college community as the "life together" and pointed out how the welfare of the whole University depended upon the coöperation of all who were connected with it.

Now here we are beginning a study which centers wholly in the thought of that happy phrase. We call it *Community Civics*, but it really includes nothing more than the facts and ideas by which our life together in all its various forms is regulated.

2 The Community and Its Members

Surely we can all see how the school life is a life together. We are all working for the same purpose, or ought to be. If one pupil does exceptionally well, the whole school shares in the credit. If one fails through carelessness and neglect, the school shares in the suffering. Each one has his own part which no one else can do.

So it is in all our other relations. Sometimes we do not realize it until something happens to interrupt the usual



BOY SCOUTS AROUND AN EVENING CAMPFIRE.

course of our lives. Then we may discover how much we depended on somebody else or how much some one else depended upon us. "No man liveth to himself."

2. It Is Natural to Be Social. — It is great sport, as many of you know, particularly if you have belonged to the Boy Scouts or the Girl Scouts, to go out for a while and live as the red men did or the first white men who came into a new country. You can even enjoy several weeks of camp life by

Communities of Which We Form a Part 3

the sea or lake-shore or in the deep woods. But few of us want to do even this all by ourselves, and we are glad enough after a little time to come back where there are substantial roads and electric lights and newspapers and stores and all the other things that exist just because people live together and have much to do with one another.

The boy or girl who does not like, some of the time at least, to be with others who have common interests is rather unusual. It is just as true of men and women. Their lodges, clubs, church societies, and the like, are a similar expression of community interest. We all want the pleasure and benefits that come from association with others.

How many things can you do without receiving help, directly or indirectly, from some one else? Is there anything attractive about the life of a hermit? What motives might lead a person to live in that way?



GIRL SCOUTS READY FOR A HIKE TO CAMP.

3. Communities of Which We Form a Part. — Any group of people who occupy the same neighborhood, have interests in common, and whose relations are governed by rules or laws that its members generally obey, may rightfully be called a *community*. This is a broader use of the word than that which is sometimes given to it. Often we think of it as meaning a neighborhood or a village or some definite section

4 The Community and its Members

of a city. But we should not limit it in that fashion. In this broader sense we may be, at the same time, members of several communities.

Most of us are and always have been members of a community that we call *home* or the *family*. Here among parents, brothers, sisters, and perhaps others, we learn first what it means to live with other people and how much we owe to them. It is the community for which most of us have the deepest and most lasting regard.

Sometime, perhaps at the age of six, you became a part of another community in which you have since spent a good share of your waking hours — the *school*. Here you learned little by little many facts about the world around you, what it has to give you, and what you can do for it. You have begun to understand the way in which people outside your home contribute to the comfort and betterment of those within it. Perhaps you have already taken a little part yourself in working for others and so helping along this school community and the larger communities in which it is situated.

There are other associations which hold our interest and influence our lives sometimes to a marked degree. Perhaps these may also be lasting and vital enough to be called communities, such as the church and its various branches and activities, and the shop or factory in which people earn their living.

From your own recollection can you judge how early in life a child is likely to begin to realize his true relations with others? Have you ever thought much about it yourself? Have you ever done anything — whether paid for it or not — which was of real value to the community in which you live?

4. Classifying Localities. — Probably the most common use of the word “community” is to signify a neighborhood or locality in which a considerable number of families or individuals live. It is common to divide such communities into two groups, rural and urban.

By *rural* communities we mean those in which farming is the principal occupation and in which there are no large closely-settled neighborhoods. Nevertheless there is a real community interest often manifested by the people who live in such localities, as one would discover if he spent any length of time among the farmers of the western prairies, where it is often a long, long way from one farmhouse to the next.

Even in such regions places of general interest or use, such as a store, a church, or a blacksmith shop, may be built near



A NEVADA MINING CAMP.

The tents show how a pioneer settlement frequently began.

one another, and a little village may grow up around them. Perhaps in time quite a sizable community may develop, and serve as a center of trade for a large area of farming country. Sometimes towns spring up suddenly, as they did in the regions in Pennsylvania where men first "struck oil" or in some of the mining districts of the far West. Occasionally they stop growing just as suddenly as they started, and have only the vanished glories of past days to console them for their faded hopes of greatness. A great business organization like the United States Steel Corporation may even start a town of its own, as it founded Gary, Indiana.

6 The Community and Its Members

Urban communities are those where the people live relatively close together, and in which there is usually some variety of occupations. The national Census Bureau counts a place as in this class if it has a population of 2500 or more.

How would the community in which you live be classified? Is there anything unusual about its foundation or development? Why was it established at that particular point? Study the pictures of communities on pages 5, 6, 7, 136, 137. What particular

A COUNTRY COMMUNITY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

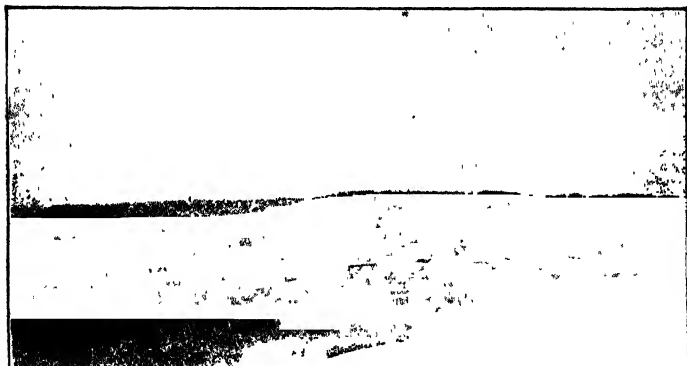
features of each do you notice? Would you care to live in any of them? Make a list of all the organizations or institutions with which you and the other members of your family are connected. How many of these do you think are permanent and how many are established on a temporary relationship?

5. "**E Pluribus Unum.**" — You have seen this motto on several of our coins, and if you have studied Latin you have learned that it means "One out of many." Many small communities are united into larger ones and these in turn are combined into one great nation — the United States of America.

The urban communities and rural communities in a certain

territory are united to make up a *county*. Sometimes the county is not very much of a unit, but it has a very important place in our system of government, nevertheless. Several counties make up a *state* and each state has its officers and laws to look out for the interests of its members.

The forty-eight states are all united under a central government with a president, a congress which makes our national laws, and numerous other officials who have their own particular duties to perform. The welfare of the whole union may be vitally affected by the conditions that exist



A WISCONSIN VILLAGE.

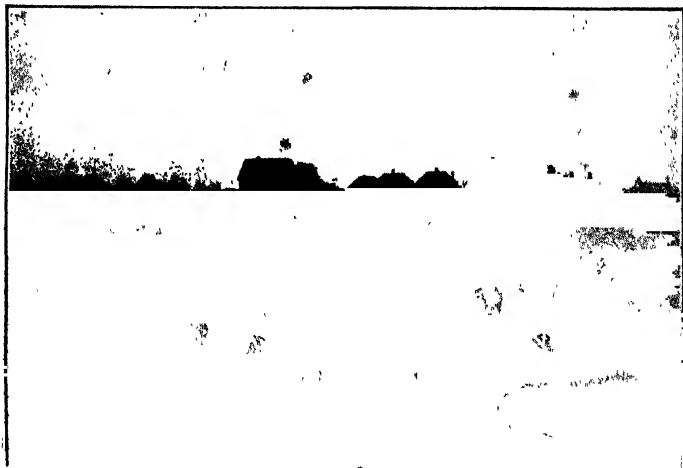
in any one state or even in the smaller communities that go to make up the state.

Show how the whole country may be affected by things that happen in New York or Chicago. How might the rest of the nation feel the result of a failure of a particular wheat crop in North Dakota? If one citizen breaks a law in his own neighborhood, is it possible for the effect of his law-breaking to reach beyond the town in which he lives?

6. Keeping Communities in Order.—In every community, large or small, there must be some sort of order. Few people would care to stay very long in a community where everybody did just what he pleased just when he

8 The Community and Its Members

pleased. No family would be happy whose members conducted themselves in that way. No baseball team could be successfully managed on any such principle. No more could any group of men and women live in a community without some person or persons to guide or control their actions — in other words, to *govern* them.



A THRILLING MOMENT.

Football in both High School and College draws enormous crowds. We sometimes wonder whether class-work is merely an incident in the curriculum of to-day. Can this game be played without rules or laws?

True, if everybody practiced the Golden Rule we might get along passably well without very much government. But not every one does. Even at that, good men often honestly disagree, and some way must be provided to decide whose views shall be adopted. Besides, individuals by themselves find it wholly impossible to do many desirable things which they can readily accomplish by acting together.

We must have governments, then, to perform at least the following functions :

- (1) To define and make known the rights and duties of individuals ;
- (2) To keep order and protect life and property ;
- (3) To enforce the performance of duties and punish, if necessary, those who disregard them ;
- (4) To regulate or conduct activities which either cannot be performed by private enterprise or can be better performed under governmental authority.

Under this last head are included such matters as the construction of public buildings and of streets, the management of public schools, and the many features of the so-called *police power* of government. By this term we mean the power to make all laws necessary to protect the peace, safety, health, and morals of the people. Men will often disagree as to just how far this function shall be exercised, but our governments have been constantly extending this kind of service.

Give at least one illustration of the way each of the functions of government affects you personally. Learn the preamble of the national Constitution as a statement of the reasons why our government was formed. Find a similar statement of purpose in your state constitution.

. . . Our life in communities, the management of these groups, and the success of their activities, depend on how well each of us does his part. We each must find and exercise our responsibilities as citizens of the communities in which we belong. What are *mine*?

QUESTIONS

Show that each member of a community has a personal responsibility for its welfare. What does the term "community" mean? Show that community life is made up of coöperation in various forms.

What was the first group or organization with which you became acquainted outside of your own family?

What has each of these "communities" done to help relations with others?

Distinguish between urban and rural communities.

Mention some ways by which towns and villages get their start.

10 The Community and Its Members

Explain the way in which the United States is made up of smaller communities.

Make a definition of the word *government*. Would it be possible to get along without it? What specific functions does government perform? Explain the term *police power*.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Many Interests of a Human Being.

Are People Happier Than They Were a Century Ago?

Why Our Town or City Is Here.

The Founding of Our Community.

The Progress of Our Community.

The Work of the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts.

A Community Where Changes Never Come.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

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CHAPTER II

PLANNING THE COMMUNITY

Set thine house in order. — Isaiah 38:1.

Our industrial and social prosperity depends in a large measure on our surroundings. How can we plan our communities so as to get the most out of our common life in pleasure, profit, and clean living? What social advantages are gained by forethought for a community's growth?

7. **Why Planning Is Important.** — Convenience, health, and beauty are three notable objects to be attained in laying out a city or town. If a city is laid out properly in the first place, one needs to waste little time following the windings of "corkscrew" streets, and can go almost directly from any important place to another. To the modern business man, in a very real sense, "time is money." A well-planned city saves both time and energy for its citizens.

Again, in some communities thousands or even scores of thousands of people herd together in rickety tenements or on narrow alleys and close-built streets, where in the hot days of summer a real breath of fresh air or a cooling breeze is like a bit of heaven, where at any season of the year the darkened rooms and close contact of the people make it as easy as possible for everybody to acquire his neighbor's ailments and vices.

But in a properly planned community the streets are wide enough and well enough arranged to allow the winds to sweep through and clear away the foul air. Buildings are not permitted which force their tenants to live without privacy

and comfort, without fresh air and light and safety. Every house need not sit up so close to the next that a street is almost like a continuous wall. A small back yard with perhaps a little garden can furnish rest and pleasure to every workingman.

Beauty is almost as easy to have as ugliness. If some one plans it soon enough, a river-bank, kept like a park, can



A STREET IN NUREMBERG.

In the old cities of Europe houses were built close together and without front lawns. This is also true in some American cities.

advertise the attractiveness of a city instead of presenting a water front that is an eyesore to a traveler. Tree-lined avenues can give shade from the burning sun and add beauty and dignity to the whole city instead of serving simply as thoroughfares for travel. Buildings can follow the lines of art in their construction and stand in right proportion to their surroundings instead of being notable for nothing but size or ugliness.

Most communities were not planned—they just happened. It is striking to note the difference within the same community, when we compare the older part of it with the part that was laid out since people began to realize that city planning is important. Boston and Pittsburgh are good examples of cities that merely “happened.” One can easily accept the tradition that Boston’s streets follow the lines of old cow-paths, when he looks at a map of the city, or better still when he tries to get around in the city before he has been there long enough to get “the lay of the land.”

One fine example of a well-planned American city is Washington, conceived by the genius of the Frenchman, Major L’Enfant. The Capitol is the center of the city’s plan. Streets running north and south intersect at right angles with others running east and west. To vary the monotony of the scheme, and to promote the beauty and convenience of the plan, a system of diagonal avenues intersects the “checkerboard.” Where the avenues and streets come together, little parks known as “circles” are formed. Really a beautiful city is our national capital.

If a city does not realize the advantages of planning soon enough and then later on tries to change the width of its streets or constructs new boulevards, it finds the cost of tearing



A STREET NOT PLANNED FOR GROWTH.

With business buildings of this kind already constructed, it would be an expensive proposition to widen the street.

down buildings, paying the owners for the damage done, and constructing the new highways, a rather expensive proposition. The cost and trouble of all such work is a constant reminder to every community that it is good sense to think ahead, to reason out the direction in which a city is likely to grow, and to plan for a growing and beautiful city rather than a stagnant and ugly town. If a town, when it grew, left no place for parkways or breathing-spaces in its crowded districts, there is not much hope that business houses will be torn down and trees and grass and flowers put in their places.

From an atlas, a city directory, your own memory, or some other reliable source, draw a plan of some good-sized community. Compare it with your own community. How many of the places whose street arrangement you also can discover were really planned in advance? Draw an ideal plan for your own community, or for some other real or imaginary place.

What districts in your city or town were planned? Can you tell in what direction and how far your town or city is likely to grow? What do you suppose a resident of your town would have said one hundred years ago in answer to such a question? fifty years ago?

8. Problems of Planning in Some Communities. — It is sometimes much easier to invent schemes about the way communities should be planned than to make any plan fit the geographical peculiarities of some neighborhoods. A plan that would be well suited to the level ground on which Philadelphia is situated would be utterly out of the question for San Francisco, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, or Boston with their hills, rivers, or harbors. Sometimes conditions below the earth's surface require that substantial business blocks must be built at a certain place in order to give them a solid foundation. When that is the case, the plan of the city simply must be adapted to that fact.

Yet it is likely that any community may overcome unfavorable surroundings to a considerable extent if it sets out to do so. Three times Pittsburgh shaved down the "Hump," as a steep hill that hemmed in its business section was called,

Problems of Planning in Some Communities 15

and the same city has raised several of its streets many feet to keep them above the floods of the Allegheny River. Boston has filled in its Back Bay and changed it into one of its most attractive sections. New York has allowed tubes and tunnels to be built under the Hudson and the East Rivers, and up and down the whole rocky back of Manhattan Island. Seattle washed away the greater part of a hill which



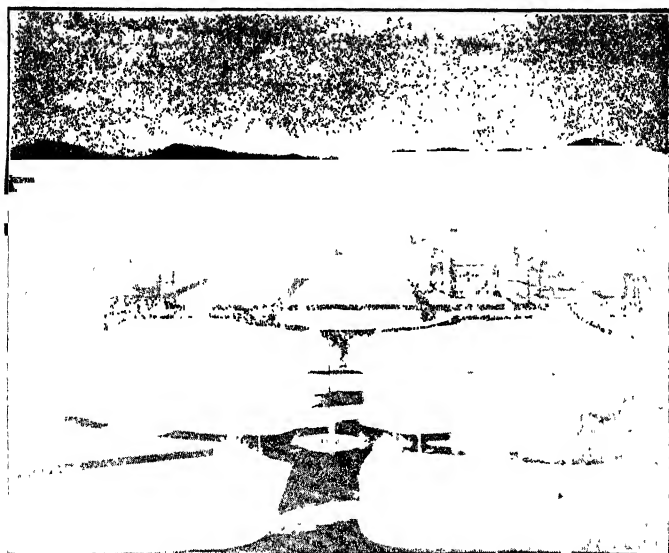
A SCENE IN ROCKEFELLER PARK, CLEVELAND.

This is a part of the city's boulevard system. How much of this do you suppose is natural?

stood between its business district and a part of its water front. Los Angeles, having no harbor, reached out twenty miles and annexed one, spending millions of dollars to improve it.

Somebody must have authority and responsibility in this matter or else nothing is likely to be done. Practically every good-sized community to-day has some sort of planning commission which is responsible for proposing changes and

improvements in the various sections of the city, such as locating or improving parks and playgrounds, broadening and straightening streets, and working out a program for making the changes without too great expense to the community at any one time.



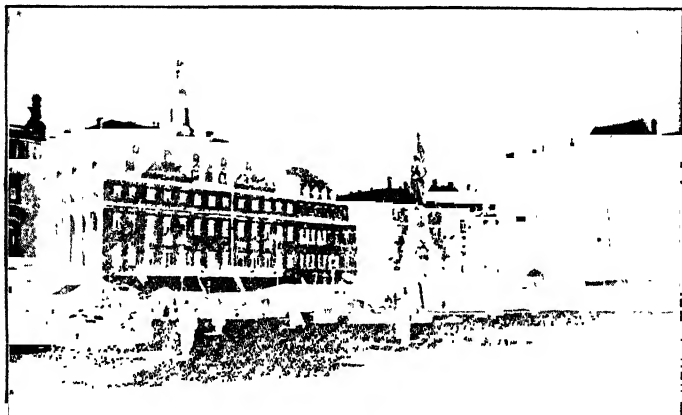
IN DENVER'S CIVIC CENTER.

This view looks from the State Capitol.

What particular difficulties may community planners have met in your own neighborhood? Does your community have a planning commission? If so, what is it doing and how much authority does it have? Are improvements possible in the older portions of your community? What can your community do or what should it do to improve its physical appearance or arrangement?

9. Special Features to Be Provided. — The idea of having a *civic center* appeals strongly to city planners of to-day. By this term is meant a group of public buildings such as a court-house, city hall, post office, library, or other institution frequently used by the people, located where they will be

convenient of access by street-car or otherwise from all sections of the city. This will naturally be at the point where some of the most important streets intersect. Here a small park with fountains, monuments, and the like, may also be laid out. In a large city it would be undesirable, of course, to have every library, school, and museum crowded into one section. In that case several smaller centers should be created to serve different sections of the city.



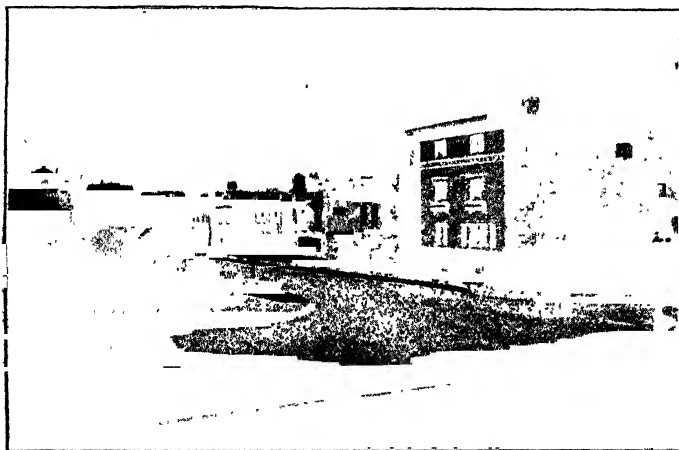
THE MARKET PLACE IN DRESDEN.

Almost every European city has some central place of this kind. Farmers, hucksters, flower sellers, and others find this a good place to dispose of their wares.

A suggestion which has been adopted in several European cities and is rapidly winning favor in our own is that the city should be divided into *zones*. Each zone is set apart for a certain purpose — one for factories, another for business houses, another for residences of a certain kind, and so on. This plan helps to keep the value of property in a district fairly stable, for one can know in advance what sorts of buildings may be erected in any section.

As it has been in most of our cities, a man might build a fine house in a pleasant residential district only to have

his neighbor sell out to an automobile company which put up a public garage on the lot. The value of the residential property in that vicinity then drops disastrously, and nobody but the automobile firm is any better off. This is grossly unfair. To crowd all business places into one section of a very large city would be extremely inconvenient, but enough business zones to serve all sections could be permitted, and business buildings kept out of the purely resi-



A RESTRICTED RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT.

To exclude certain types of buildings from this district will help to keep this neighborhood always attractive.

dential districts. Nearly 200 cities and towns in this country, including New York and Pittsburgh, are now zoned, and well toward one-half of our urban population live in zoned communities.

No community to-day considers itself up-to-date unless it makes some provision for its people's recreation. Parks and playgrounds will therefore need to be provided for and placed where they will do the most good to the people who most need them. It sometimes seems as if a city's parks are nearest to those sections where almost every family has its

automobile and can readily drive a little distance to get to the park if it wants to go. It is no easy problem, either, to determine just how far the boundaries of the various industrial, commercial, or residential zones should extend, and where certain types of buildings should be permitted or prohibited.

Make a large map of your city or neighborhood, showing as you proceed every point of interest or importance — attractive and unattractive sections, schools, churches, factories, etc.

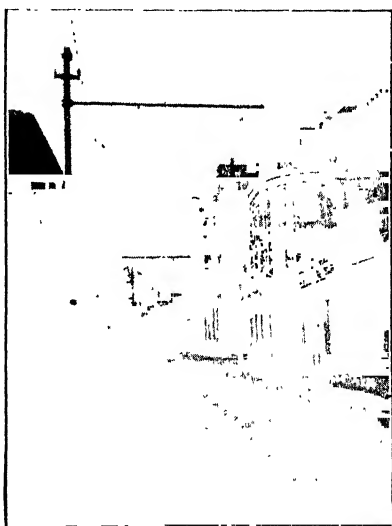
Does your community have zoning laws? If so, what are the boundaries of the various districts? If not, why not?

Does your community have a civic center? If so, where, and why did it happen to be located there? If not; why not?

10. Arranging and Laying Out Streets. —

The main purpose for which a street is to be used determines largely its width, general plan of construction, and kind of paving. A street in a residential district where there is little heavy travel can be constructed less expensively and need not be so wide as a business street, unless special provision is made for trees, grass plots, and uncommonly wide sidewalks. Thirty feet from one curbstone to the other is a fairly satisfactory width for such a street.

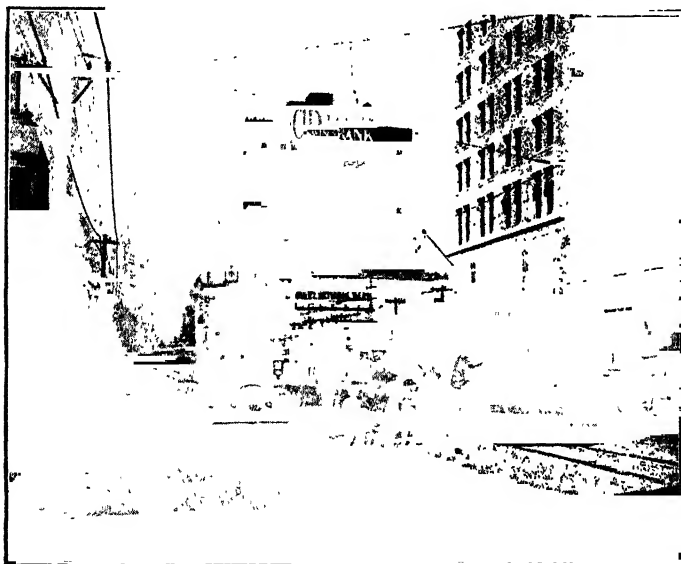
To furnish variety and add to the beauty of a district it is well to have some residential streets of more than ordinary width, with plenty of provision for trees and perhaps a



AN OLD NEW ORLEANS STREET.

Notice the width and the paving.

stretch of grass or a row of flower-beds in the middle of the street. Streets on which street railway tracks are laid should be several feet wider than would otherwise be necessary. A residential street is much more attractive if the houses are not crowded close upon the sidewalk, and if they are not all of the same construction. Grass, trees, flowers, and shrubs add to the attractiveness of any street.



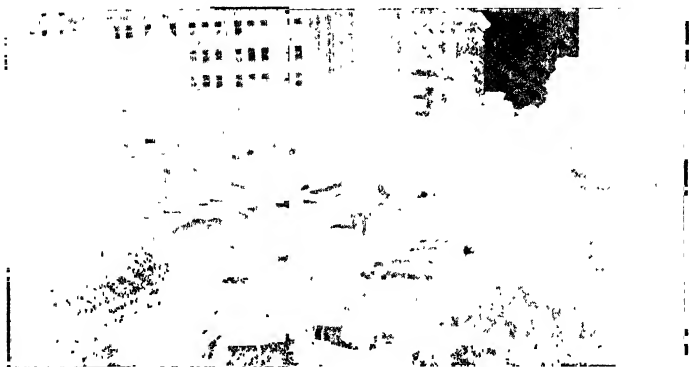
A CITY STREET, YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO.

This street seems to meet all necessary requirements for width, but the irregular height of the buildings detracts from its appearance.

The main item for consideration in the business street is convenience, but that does not need to mean that all trees and everything else suggestive of beauty must be removed. Some business streets do not need to be broader than the main residential highways, but the most important business streets ought to be at least 100 feet wide. They must generally permit two lines of car tracks, and should have room on

each side for at least two lines of vehicles to pass, one for passenger automobiles or other fast travel, and one for slower traffic.

The checkerboard system of laying out streets has met much favor in many places. It is the simplest method of securing regularity, and makes it easy to identify any particular spot. Especially if an orderly scheme of naming the streets is observed and the plan of letting each block count for 100 in numbering houses is employed, even a stranger



ON A MAIN STREET IN SAN DIEGO.

This is wider than many business streets, but not a bit too wide for the traffic. A narrow business street is shown on page 19.

would have little excuse for getting lost. The most serious objections to this system are the monotony of appearance which it produces and the necessity of going around too many right angles in getting anywhere.

But if this plan is modified by laying out diagonal avenues from the heart of a city to its outer corners and by constructing boulevards to encircle the city and reach its beauty spots, it is likely to serve a greater variety of conditions than any other. Some people like the spider-web as a model for laying out a city's streets, but it is seldom used.

What system of naming and numbering streets seems best to you? How would your system work if applied to some other city? What systems are used in any communities that you know about?

Draw a plan of a good business street; of a residential street. What do you consider the best streets in your community for the purposes for which they are most largely used?

11. Paving Streets. — The laying out or paving of streets must generally be authorized by the city council or some corresponding body in the smaller community. It passes



LAYING WOOD BLOCKS ON THE BOULEVARD IN PARIS.

an ordinance providing for the location and grading of the street and for determining the damages to neighboring property that may be caused by such grading. Often the value of neighboring property is increased rather than decreased by laying out a new street. In such cases the owner will have to contribute to the cost of the street instead of receiving damages from the government. After a street has been laid out and paved, the cost of keeping it in repair is usually borne by the local government.

The proper surface for a street depends upon the principal uses to which it is put. A street that is to be used for heavy trucking must be paved with material that will stand hard

pounding. Block stone seems to be necessary for such streets, particularly if they have any noticeable grade, in spite of the roughness and noise which cannot be avoided with such paving.

Some cities have experimented with wood blocks on their business streets. These are generally made of yellow pine treated with some kind of creosote or tar preparation which



FINISHING A BRICK PAVEMENT.

adds greatly to their wearing quality. They are smooth and almost noiseless, but "skiddy" in wet weather. For streets whose chief traffic is by automobiles or light wagons, sheet asphalt is very commonly used, especially in the residential districts. It is attractive in appearance, smooth, and not very noisy, but is not safe to use on grades that are at all steep.

Brick pavements are found in both residential and business streets. They are comparatively easy to repair and cost

considerably less than the kinds above mentioned. Some city streets, as well as many park roads and country highways, are macadamized; that is, their top coating is made of fine crushed stone rolled hard and perhaps treated with a tar or oil preparation to bind it together and keep down the dust. In recent years concrete has also been very extensively used. For proper paving a street must often be dug down a foot or more and carefully graded. For a block stone,



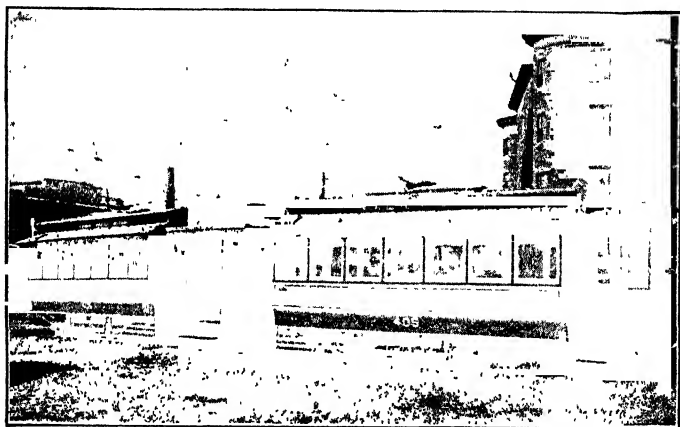
LAYING OUT AND GRADING A NEW STREET.

wood block, or brick street, concrete several inches thick is commonly put in as a base, and covered with a layer of sand of sufficient thickness to serve as a cushion. On this the surface material is placed.

For asphalt or macadamized streets the bottom layer is composed of several inches of concrete, or broken stone not larger than an egg. Asphalt is generally of two grades, a coarse material which covers the broken stone, and a finer kind for the surface. This must be thoroughly rolled and allowed to harden before it is used.

What kind of pavement would you prefer in front of your own house or place of business? What kind of paving is most common in your community? Why? Who is responsible for keeping your streets in repair? Is the work properly done? From the experience of communities that you know about, what would you consider the most satisfactory kind of pavement?

12. Street Railways. — The modern community has to plan for the use of many methods by which its citizens may get from their homes to their schools, churches, or places of

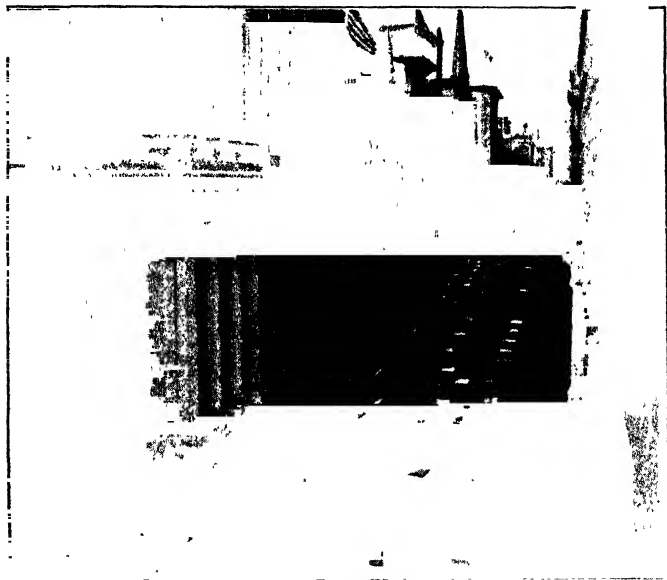


TWO OLD-STYLE STREET-CARS JOINED TO MAKE A NEW ONE.

business or amusement, and back again. In a large city, thousands go every day from the suburbs or residential portions into the business center for their day's employment. It is too far for them to walk, many of them cannot afford automobiles, and there is not room enough in most towns to accommodate the automobiles that are now driven.

The street railway is a very important factor in providing transportation for a very large part of the people every day. It can touch almost every section of a community. Electric lines can go within a community and between cities and towns in places where the steam railroad could not easily run.

The quality of service supplied by street railway lines is very often a big problem for the "city fathers." There has been a tremendous change in the method of constructing street railways, from the early days of the horse-car through the cable-car stage to the present. We are not satisfied with the little uncomfortable cars that were once looked upon as



FIFTH AVENUE AND THIRTY-FOURTH STREET, NEW YORK.

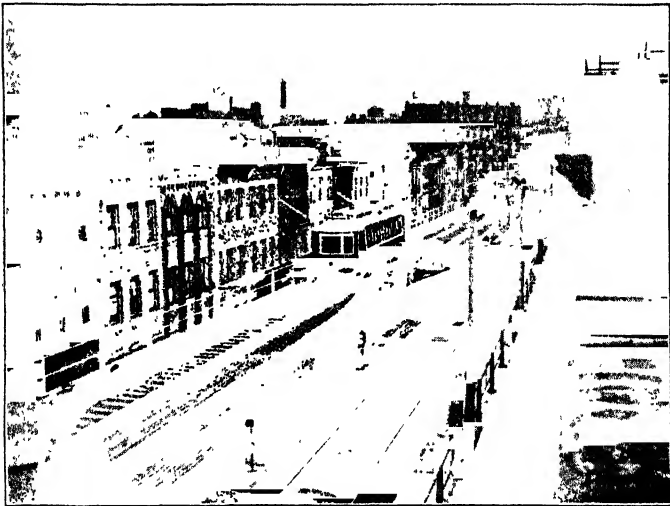
Called the greatest shopping center in the world.

tremendous improvements. We want to ride smoothly, rapidly, and cheaply. To be able to do all of this at once is next to impossible. The nickel car-fare has gone forever from a great many of our cities and towns.

Detroit and Seattle have attempted to solve the problem by buying the street railways from their owners and operating them under the city government. In almost every large city some special contract or arrangement is made between

the city authorities and the managers of the street railway company.

The constantly growing traffic and the great number of wagons and automobiles using the streets of a city make street-car progress slow in the business districts, especially if the streets are narrow. As it is plain that surface lines alone cannot give satisfactory service, several large cities



A SCENE ON THE BOSTON ELEVATED.

have constructed subway or elevated lines. London and Paris in Europe have famous subway systems.

Boston was the first city in this country to construct a subway, which is operated as a part of a combined system of surface, subway, and elevated lines. Philadelphia also has a system constructed on the same principle. New York has extensive lines of both subways and elevated road, but they are operated separately. Chicago has an elevated system and is planning for a subway also.

Surface and underground conditions vary so much from

city to city that a system which might be feasible in one place would be utterly out of the question in another. The many communities which have thought about constructing an elevated or subway line ought to consider all local conditions very carefully, for the undertaking is expensive, and a mistake likely to be ruinous.

What would you think of an ordinance forbidding wagons to be driven on street-car tracks? How far have automobiles affected city life? To what extent are they responsible for street-car problems of to-day? Can you do anything to help solve the transportation problem of your community? Are jitney busses a nuisance or a blessing? Because a street-car company in one city can carry passengers for six cents and make money, does it follow that the fare in other cities should be no higher?.

. . . Planning a community is not always easy, but much can be accomplished if a community determines to make the best of its possibilities. Convenience, health, and beauty can all be promoted by the right sort of care and enterprise.

QUESTIONS

What are three objects to be attained in laying out a city? What benefits are derived from thoughtful planning in each of these respects?

Give examples of American cities that were planned and of cities that were not. Explain the plan of the city of Washington.

What are some of the difficulties that communities have to contend with in respect to proper planning? Is there any excuse for lack of good planning in such a city as Pittsburgh? Compare both of these places with your own community and with any others that you know.

What is a civic center? Is the idea a good one?

What is meant by zoning a city? How do you like the idea?

What chance is there for a community to improve its arrangement after it has grown large? Mention improvements that some cities have made.

Who has the responsibility for constructing new streets? Who stands the cost? Describe a pleasing residential street. What features should characterize a main business street and why?

Mention the principal kinds of materials used for paving streets

and explain the uses for which each is best suited. What kinds do you have? Describe the foundation laid for paved streets.

Show the necessity of street railways to a large community. Of what special services are the interurban lines? What kinds of power have been used on street railway lines? What are the advantages of each? What are the reasons for the construction of subways and elevated roads? What communities have them? Why does the quality of service on street railways vary between cities? What special difficulties do some companies have to contend with? What examples of good and bad street-car service are you familiar with?

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Plan of Our Community. (Every pupil should prepare one, making it as complete as possible.)

A Plan of an Ideal Community.

Plans of Other Communities than Our Own.

Streets and Their Care in Our Community.

Our Street Railways.

A Plan for Improving the Transportation System of —.

Possible Improvements in Planning Our Community.

Our Local Planning Commission and What It Is Doing.

Resolved, that our community should adopt a zoning ordinance.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Lewis: The Planning of the Modern City.

Nolen: New Ideas in the Planning of Cities, Towns, and Villages.

Robinson: The Improvement of Towns and Cities.

Reports of Planning Commissions in your own and other communities.

CHAPTER III

IMPROVING CIVIC ATTRACTIVENESS

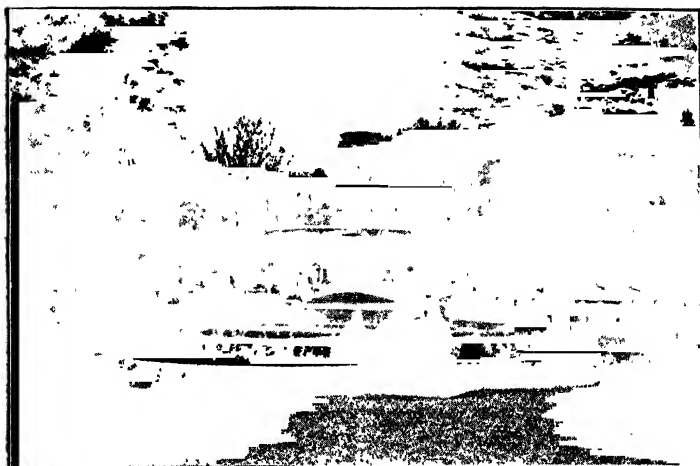
The way to be happy is to help make others so. — Ingersoll.

A community must not only be planned ; it must also be kept up. Does the beauty of our surroundings, or the lack of it, mean anything to us ? How may the civic art of our communities make them better places to live in ?

13. Parks, Trees, and Parkways. — Proper planning of a community will aid in keeping it looking attractive, as well as in getting around in it and in getting more business for it. When you visit a city or town for the first time, its general appearance makes a much stronger impression on you than its school system or water supply or fire department.

Parks are one of the most common means of adding to a city's appearance. Here one may get into the open air and rest, and get as near to nature as is possible in a large city. Flower-beds, bushes, and trees help to make the place inviting in appearance and spread a quiet, uplifting influence toward beauty and the higher things. The greenhouses and conservatories which many parks possess are educational as well as interesting, and the " zoo " is an endless source of enjoyment and instruction to old folks as well as young. Sometimes a city's water front may be made into a most attractive park. Harrisburg has done this, and Chicago, to a considerable extent, but many places have lost their chance forever of this means of beautification.

Should everybody be obliged to keep off the grass in a park ?



ENJOYING CALIFORNIA SUNSHINE.

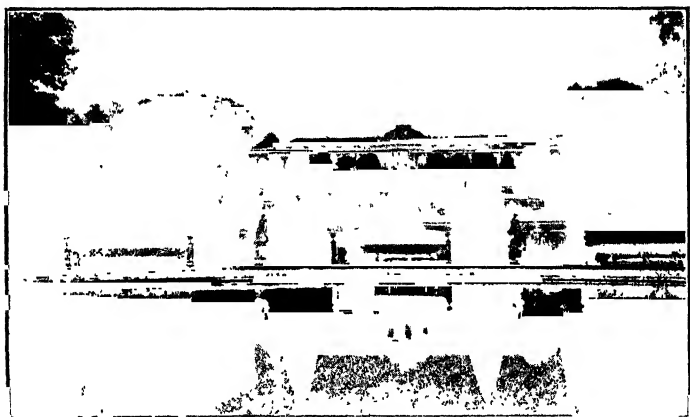
Pershing Square, Los Angeles, may be called one of the great city's breathing spaces.



PROTECTING A LIVE-OAK IN PASADENA.

A boulevard runs on both sides of the tree.

There are few more beautiful sights in a community than a street lined with rows of well-shaped, stately maples, oaks, or elms, with sufficient parkways or grassy spaces to give the trees plenty of room and add their touch of green to a handsome highway. It takes years for such a street to reach its full glory, but it is well worth all the time and labor that it costs. Trees make the heat of summer more endurable and they purify the air, thus promoting the health of the people.



THE EX-KAISER'S FRONT YARD AT POTSDAM.

We have here an excellent example of artificial landscape gardening.

All trees are not equally desirable. The palm trees that help to make Los Angeles and Redlands and Riverside and some of the noble avenues of New Orleans so wonderfully attractive could not live much farther north. The elms and maples of New England do not do nearly so well in some other sections. Some foresters recommend the oriental plane tree, though its time of leafage is not so long as that of some others. The poplar or cottonwood finds friends when a rapidly growing tree is wanted, but it speedily loses them when its roots cause cement or concrete walks to crack and even find their way down into sewer pipes.

It seems to be best to put the matter of planting and caring for street trees in the hands of the local government rather than to leave it for each householder. In this way uniformity of appearance in a street can be most surely obtained and much more intelligent care will be afforded. Keeping trees free from insects and other pests sometimes becomes a vexing problem, and this may be wholly neglected if left to private owners. It is not safe, either, to allow every house-



STREET-CARS IN LUCERNE.

Lucerne is a veritable spotless town. Can you imagine white street-cars in an American city?

holder, telephone lineman, or any other thoughtless person, under the pretense of trimming a tree, to hack it until its beauty is gone.

Can you tell one tree from another? Point out some differences in leaf structure or manner of growth. What kinds of trees would you recommend for your community?

14. Cleaning and Lighting the Streets. — Street cleaning and street lighting are important for more than one reason. Street cleaning promotes health, street lighting affords convenience, and both add much to a community's appearance.

Streets littered with paper or strewn with all kinds of dirt indicate that the people of a community are either shamefully lazy or distressingly ignorant. Beauty in any form is almost out of the question, and, worse than that, the health of the residents on that street is menaced. When we see children playing in some of our streets — the only playgrounds some of them have, poor things! — we wonder not



A SHADED STREET.

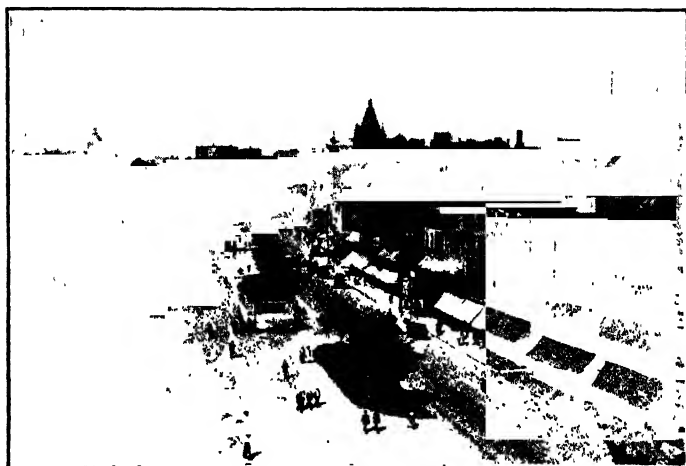
that disease is common among them, but how they keep well at all.

About the surest way to clean a street is to have the work done by men employed by the city, who go over its whole surface with their brooms and carts. But the work of these "white wings," as they have been nicknamed, must be slow and therefore rather expensive. Machines with revolving brushes have been invented which sweep the dirt toward the curb, where it can be shoveled into wagons by men following the sweeper. A few places have used a kind of vacuum sweeper on the streets. Some sprinkling wagons really

wash the streets, but others do little more than lay the dust for a little while.

Does any blame rest on you if your street is not clean?

If the pavement is of a kind that will stand it, the water may be turned on the street from the fire plugs and the dirt thoroughly washed away. Some cities clean out their



TREMONT STREET, BOSTON.

Showing part of the adjoining historic Common

main business streets in this way at night when there will be little interruption from wagons or automobiles. By some means the dust must be kept down and the heavier dirt removed. Calcium chloride or oil is often used on dirt roads, but each has its disadvantages. Each community must do its own experimenting and find what suits its own needs best. Northern cities have also in winter the problem of removing the snow from the streets, for in the big cities it does not stay long enough or pack down sufficiently hard to make the use of sleighs feasible for any length of time.

What methods, if any, are used in your neighborhood to keep down the dust on roads? Why do your officials favor one method rather than another?

Does it make any difference whether the snow and ice are cleaned off the sidewalk in front of your house? If city authorities remove snow from your streets, what do they do with it?

Any one who has stumbled along a dark or dimly lighted street at night, looking for the number of a house which he wished to visit, realizes how important it is that streets should be well lighted. Besides, there is a certain glamour



SPOILING THE SCENERY.

This would be a magnificent view if it were not for the signboards. This is at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.

about a "great white way" that interests people in a community which tries to look well by night as well as by day. But more essential than either of these reasons is the necessity of restraining crime. A well-lighted community has much less law-breaking than one that tries to economize on light. Good street lights are worth dozens of policemen.

It is a long look from the old whale oil or kerosene oil lamps which once fitfully gleamed over a very limited area on the main streets of our cities to the powerful arc lamps or clusters

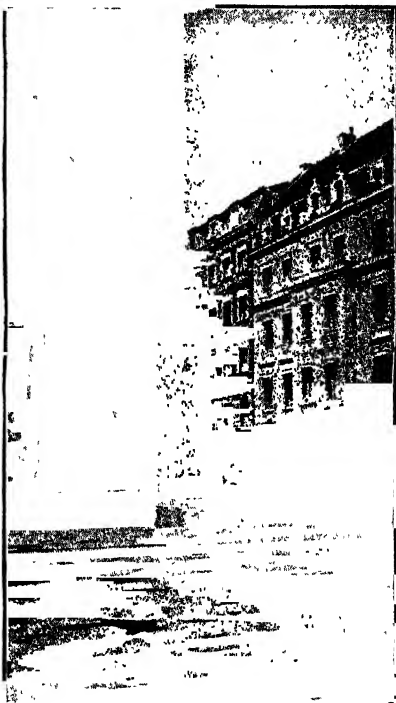
of lights which illumine the highways of our best cities to-day. Between the oil lamp and the electric light came the gas lamp, and this is still in use, especially in the regions where natural gas is abundant. But generally some form of electric light is preferred.

Whether it shall be the arc lamp swung from a pole, a single globe at the top of a post, or a cluster of globes in some attractive shape, each locality must settle for itself, taking into account the point to be served in each instance. Whatever plan is used, the lights must not be placed too high above the street or walk which is to be illumined.

What kind of lighting does your community have? Is the lighting plant owned by the town or by a private company?

15. Unsightly Things and Places. — Almost every community has some place which it prefers that the visitor should not see. It may be a dump where tin cans, papers, old shoes, and worse-smelling things are heedlessly thrown. It may be a mosquito-breeding swamp or mudhole. It may be a filthy alley, unpaved, dark, strewn with bottles, garbage, and slime.

Of course there is no sound reason why any place of this

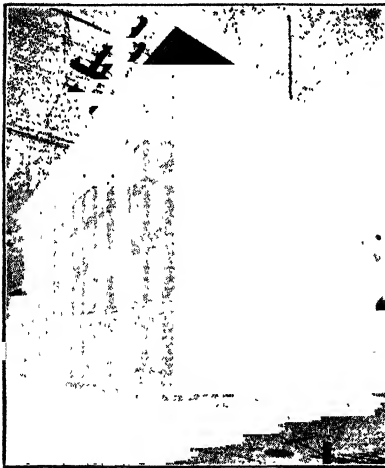


A BERLIN BILLBOARD.

This one carried a particularly hideous picture, but a billboard of this construction does not disfigure a whole block.

kind should exist ; but some people are lazy, some are willfully defiant of decency, and some officers do not dare to enforce ordinances which prohibit these eyesores. To arouse a public sentiment which will protest vigorously against such disregard of civic beauty and health is a work in which every child in school can have a part.

It is less easy to induce a bill-poster or advertising manager to refrain from destroying a beautiful landscape or offending



A CITY Y. M. C. A.

How the telephone pole and wires disfigure the picture!

one's sense of art by putting up gaudy billboards. The billboard man even declares that his signs add to the appearance of a street. Perhaps it would be too much to insist that all advertising should be removed from the streets. But advertisements can at least be displayed in such a way as not to violate every sense of natural beauty and appropriateness. Why should a person, on coming out of a great library or church, be confronted with the blazing

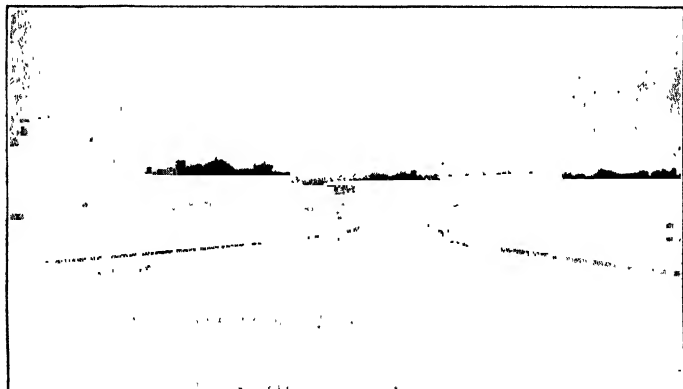
query, "Eventually. Why not now?" or be informed that somebody's cigarettes are popular favorites?

The billboard man and the owner of a house or vacant lot who allow their property to be used for such an objectionable purpose are equally guilty. A tax on billboards would probably reduce the number of them, and might be a step toward the removal of the most offensive. But as long as the public will patronize the advertiser who employs such undesirable means of reaching them we shall be pestered with his signs.

Imposing heavy fines on people who menace the health of the community by using the space behind the billboard to dump refuse and rubbish will help remove that particular evil.

What places in your community do you try to show to visitors? What places do you steer them away from?

Once it was common to put up telephone and trolley wires and poles without any regard to the effect on the appearance of the streets. A good many of our streets are still dis-



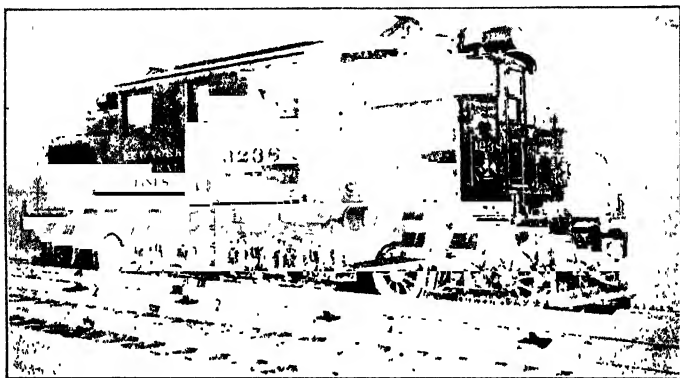
RAILROAD STATION GROUNDS, EAST LIBERTY.

These were laid out with an eye to beauty.

figured. Sometimes poles can actually be made ornamental as well as useful. But telephone and telegraph wires are often now put under ground, to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Steam railways, too, were once more guilty than they should have been, in their disregard of the attractiveness of a community. They let the smoke from their engines pollute the air. They laid tracks in streets or across the streets without any regard to the safety of the people who had to use those streets. Their stations were often not more than mere shacks, the headquarters for tramps and other loafers.

Now, however, the railroads realize that they do not get business by such means. Their stations, buildings, and grounds often add to the appearance of the neighborhood, rather than detract from it. In several of our largest cities the electric engine is used instead of the coal-burning engine within the city limits. Everywhere engines can be operated so as to give off as little smoke as possible where it would cause unnecessary dirt or inconvenience.



POWERFUL ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVE ON THE NEW YORK CENTRAL.

This is the latest thing in motive power on rails.

Apply the points mentioned in this section to your own community. How do your parks look the day after a picnic? Did you ever yourself contribute to the disorder or uncleanness of any place where you were?

16. The Smoke Nuisance. — It was once the custom to argue that smoke means business and business means prosperity. But something is wrong with such logic. That smoke from soft coal is itself dangerous to health has not been positively proved. But anything that helps to keep a city dirty and shut out the sunlight cannot promote good health. The disastrous effect on the appearance of a community produced by unnecessary smoke causes an added

expense of thousands of dollars every month in a vain attempt to keep clean.

To reduce this evil it is sometimes possible to substitute hard coal, coke, or oil for soft coal, but only a few localities can avoid the difficulty in this way. The use of smoke consumers, improved furnaces, and more careful methods of feeding coal to the furnaces cause much of the carbon to be consumed which otherwise would pass off in black smoke.

It is usually easy to induce a factory manager to use improved methods when he discovers that the change is



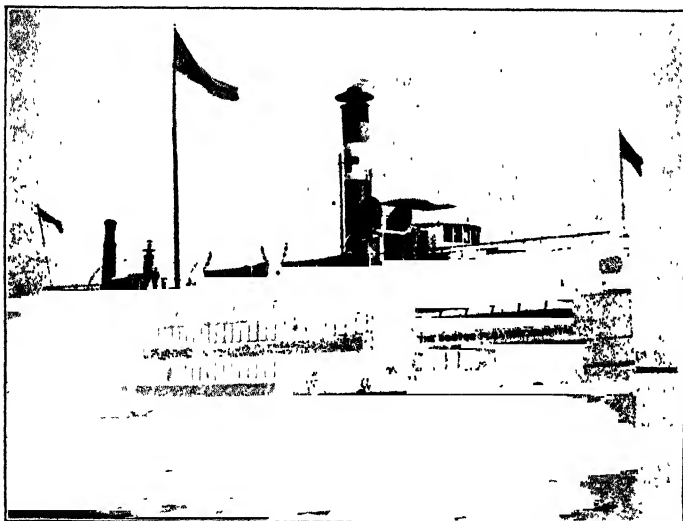
TRAIN CONGESTION AND SMOKE NUISANCE.

going to be an actual money gain to his own business. Those who are stubborn and will not be convinced can be brought to terms by a few prosecutions. It therefore rests largely with each community whether it will be grimy and ugly-looking or reasonably clean.

17. Unnecessary Noise. — Just here we may mention very briefly another matter which many people probably think of as a necessary feature of city life — its noises. Heavy trucks rumbling over the streets and shaking the houses as they pass, flat wheels on street-cars and broken or uneven tracks, the ear-grating horns, whistles, and other

noise-makers on automobiles and motorcycles, are but a few examples of noises which could either be prevented entirely or made much less disagreeable.

It goes without saying that the region around a hospital ought to be quiet and almost as necessarily the region around a school. . But how many of either of these institutions in a city enjoy the quiet which they ought to have? Some



THE BOSTON FLOATING HOSPITAL.

This boat seeks to restore health to those who need to get away from city noise and dirt.

European cities have strict ordinances covering this point, but in America we are too apt to insist upon a person's right to make all the noise he wants to as if it were guaranteed him in the constitution. We can never make a large city as quiet as the rural districts. But how much pleasanter, less tiresome, more homelike a city would be if it were rid of its unnecessary noises!

Are church bells a form of unnecessary noise? Are automobile horns?

Questions, Special Topics, and References 43

. . . Those things which are to be used by every one, though common property, should be made attractive as well as useful. Individual attention to this matter on the part of every one of us is always helpful. To make ours a "community beautiful" is a most worthy aspiration.

QUESTIONS

What are the most common ways of beautifying a community? Can a community make itself beautiful artificially?

What is the importance of street cleaning? By what methods is it done? What does your community do in this respect? Does the snow problem affect your community? If so, how is it handled?

Why is a good street lighting system necessary? Describe some of the most common kinds of lamps now in use. What does your community have? What kind do you like best?

Are billboards of any value to a community? Why do ugly-looking places exist in many decent communities? If your community has them, is there anything you can do to get rid of them?

Should a city take pride in being known as "the Smoky City"? Is your community troubled that way? How can we remedy the smoke evil?

Is noise a necessary feature of city life? What are some noises which could be either removed or reduced? How?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Streets and Their Care in Our Community.

Pipes and Wires in the Streets.

The Location of the Railroad in the City.

Making — a "City Beautiful."

Getting Rid of the Smoke.

Electric Power on the Great Railroads.

The Bridges of New York (or some other place).

Street Trees and Parkways.

Billboards in Our Community.

Seeing America.

Street Lighting in Our Community.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Howe: The Modern City and Its Problems, Chapters 15, 16.

Beard: American City Government, Chapters 9, 14.

Robinson: Modern Civic Art.

Reports of local Park Boards and Commissions, Art Commissions and the like.

CHAPTER IV

PROMOTING COMMUNITY HEALTH

*O God! that bread should be so dear!
!And flesh and blood so cheap. — Hood.*

Just as health means life to an individual, good sturdy citizens mean breath to a nation. Why are some people apparently undisturbed by dangerous health conditions? Whose fault is this? What can a community do to keep its citizens in good health?

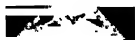
18. Our Need of Good Health. — Probably most of you can remember all too painfully some time when you were sick. You know how helpless you were and how impossible it was for you to think clearly or to do anything comfortably. A sick person cannot do justice to himself or to anything that he undertakes. He can have little joy in life, nor hope to gratify any ambition to do great things. Some men, like Robert Louis Stevenson, have accomplished much in spite of constant weakness and ill health, but they are the exceptions. Besides, we cannot tell how much more or even better work they could have done if they had not been handicapped by their physical condition.

We have just begun to realize the necessity of giving attention to this side of our lives. Now we believe that it is a part of the work of the school to make and keep people healthy in body as well as healthy in mind. There is much truth in that proverb of Solomon's, "A living dog is better than a dead lion." The sick man may even be an actual burden on the community, because as long as he is alive some one will have to look after him, and his nurse or watcher

will not have a chance to do some other piece of valuable service.

Which is more important, health or intelligence, if either? Give examples of things that an unwell person might be able to do, and then show wherein under such conditions the results of his work might be far short of his best. Do health and beauty go hand in hand? In how many ways may an individual's ill health harm his community?

19. Controlling Disease and Death. — It is not so many years since, when an epidemic came upon a community,



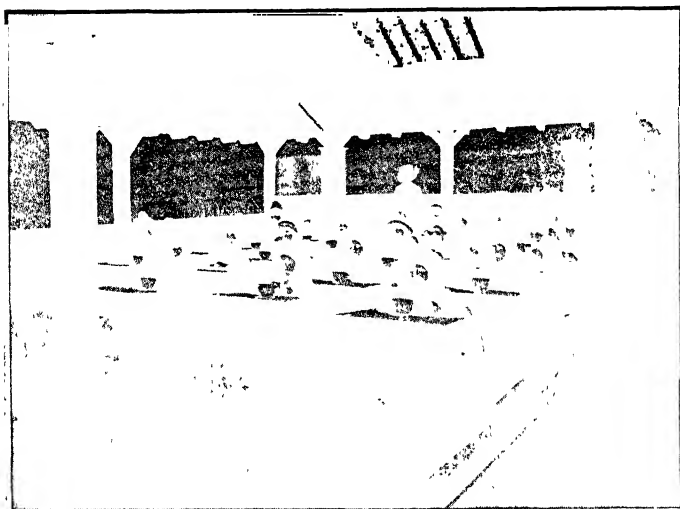
PRIMITIVE TREATMENT OF THE SUFFERING.

This was an outcast leper near Bombay, India. He had to live absolutely apart from everybody else.

people looked on it simply as a mysterious working of Providence. To-day we feel that an epidemic may indeed be the act of Providence, but we believe that the thing to do is to discover what law of health some one has violated and thereby has become responsible for the plague.

Physicians and scientists have discovered that filthy drinking water is largely to blame for typhoid fever, that a kind of mosquito was the villain who carried yellow fever, that diphtheria and tuberculosis are neither of them so likely

to be fatal as was once thought, if properly treated. The average length of life has been raised already several years, and the death rate in many places reduced more than half. The states of the Australian Federation and New Zealand show about the lowest death rates in the world. Our own country's record is considerably poorer. Akron and Seattle have excellent records among our large cities and New



AN OPEN-AIR SCHOOLROOM.

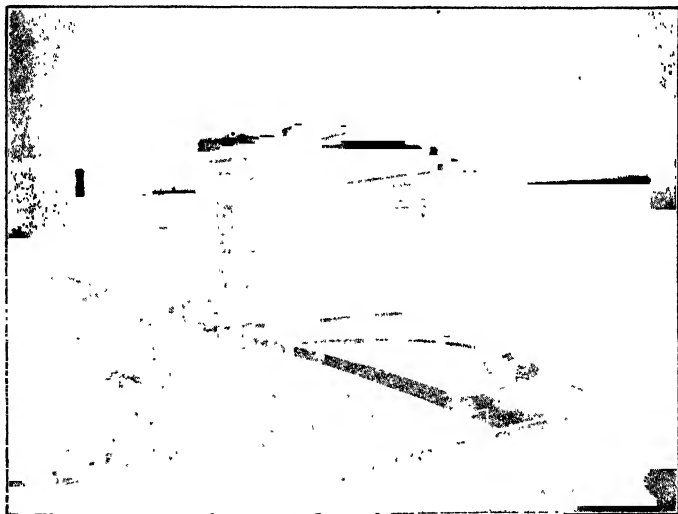
For children whose general health is not good, rooms like this are often provided which permit an abundance of fresh air.

Orleans and Memphis the worst. Can you give any reasons for the poor showing of this country or why some cities do so much better than others?

The checking and controlling of disease is largely left to the health authorities of cities and other local governments. Each community knows its own needs best in such a matter, though a state ought to have power to direct a local community to do or not to do things that would vitally

affect the well-being of the rest of the state. Almost all the states have a State Board of Health with about that kind of superior authority.

When a physician discovers a case of contagious or infectious disease, it is his duty to report the case at once to the local board of health or health officer, and have a quarantine established over that house. Any who are known to have been exposed to the disease may also be quarantined

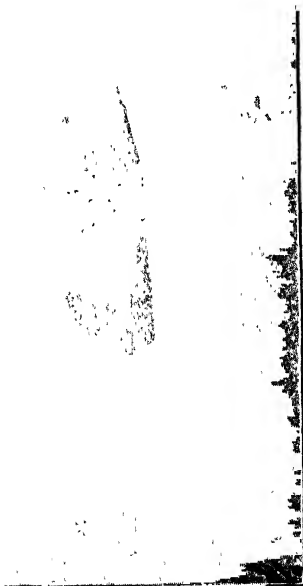


A GREAT CITY HOSPITAL.

until it is known whether they are to have it themselves. The health officers also notify the school authorities or other public organizations which might be concerned with any case, expecting them to assist in maintaining the quarantine. When a severe epidemic is threatened, the schools, churches, "movie-houses," and the like may be closed for a time. The house where a serious communicable disease has occurred is generally fumigated before the quarantine card is removed.

Large cities usually maintain public hospitals where those needing special attention or nursing may be taken. In some states private hospitals which maintain free wards are assisted by appropriations from public funds.

If you were very sick, would you rather be in a hospital or at home? Why? What are your local rules and customs about quarantine? How did the word originate? Did the boy have the right spirit who said, "I will be cheerfully quarantined"?



ENJOYING HIMSELF.

This boy is healthy and happy and is under good care at the same time.

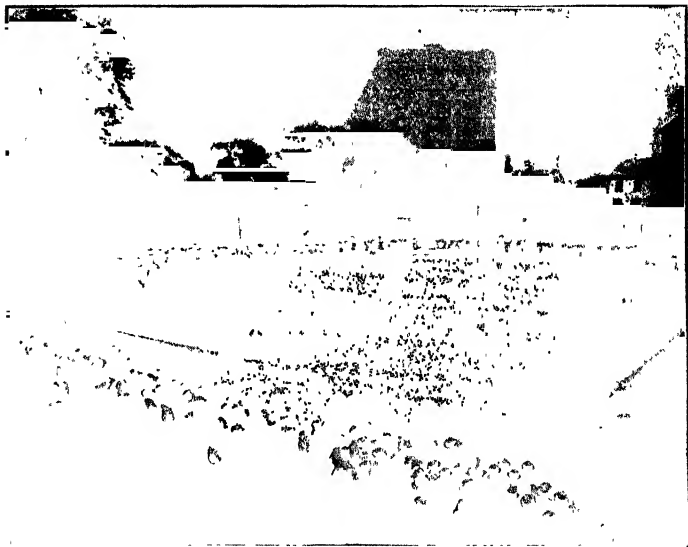
20. Preventing Disease. — We must have at home, in the school, the factory, the church, everywhere that people live or come together, plenty of sunshine, light, and fresh air. The temperature of the air has a great deal to do with our health. Altogether too many people in cold weather keep their offices or houses or shops much too warm. This unnecessary heat weakens people. When they go out they feel the change much more than is necessary and are much more

ready to contract somebody else's cold or other ailment.

The things that a person eats or drinks also vitally affect his health. Pure water and pure food, enough of both but not too much, especially of the latter, are exceedingly necessary. Besides, people must avoid getting into habits that

are ruinous to their physical strength and power of resistance, morally or physically. Late nights and loss of sleep are disastrous. The surroundings in which we live must be kept in sanitary condition and made attractive.

Altogether too many people make no effort to learn the simple laws of health themselves. They seem to think that



HOW GIRLS PLAY THE GAME.

The girl of to-day will not admit that boys can do many things which she cannot also do. Do you think baseball is a good game for girls?

there is some dark mystery about the physician's job which can be solved only by some sort of magic. Simple rules of health, and the knowledge of how to recognize the symptoms of common diseases and what to do when symptoms of illness appear could all go into the curriculum of any school from the sixth grade up, and ought to be there.

What are the most common diseases in your community? Is there a good reason why these should be the most numerous?

Clean streets, pure water, a sufficient sewer system, the removal of garbage and rubbish, all may be provided by the local government to promote the health of the people as well as to improve the appearance of the community. Common drinking cups and common towels in public places, which have often been carriers of disease, are now generally forbidden by law. Ordinances against spitting on sidewalks, in street-cars, and in public halls, are common, but unfortunately are often not enforced. Drainage and plumbing systems in private houses should be approved by plumbing inspectors or other health officers, so as to make sure that they comply with sound principles of sanitation.

Do you believe that the law should compel every one to be vaccinated?

In putting up schoolhouses, tenements, theaters, and public buildings of all kinds it is now the custom that laws require a certain number of cubic feet of air space to be allowed for each person in the place, and sufficient means of ventilation also to be provided. Fire escapes and windows are also required by law, and sometimes the owner of a lot is forbidden to cover more than a certain per cent of the lot with buildings, so as to secure the needed light and air for the neighborhood. Laws of this kind, if enforced, contribute greatly toward keeping people in good health and preventing disease.

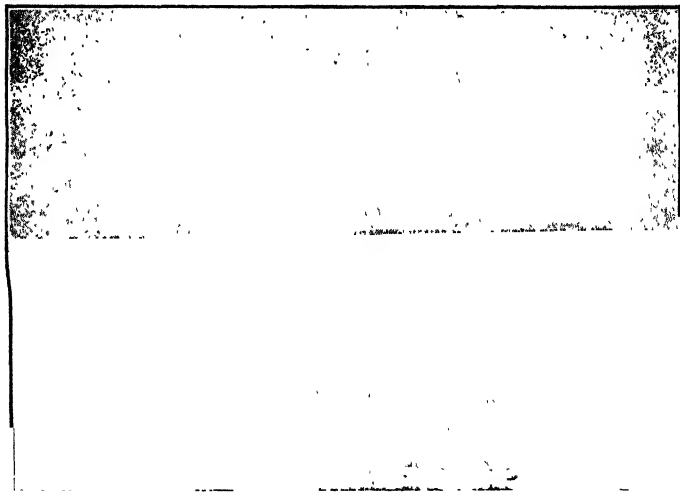
Is the ventilation good in your home and school and the public places of your community? If not, can you do anything about it? Can a person control his own health?

21. A Community's Water Supply. — Man must have water. Why? Where shall he get it? In the country or the small town wells and springs will probably furnish enough, but when a city contains thousands of people, no such supply is available, in most cases.

In a small city a private water company may be able to provide what the community needs, but as the city grows

the undertaking becomes more and more difficult, so that the people usually prefer that their local government shall operate their water system. Besides, when this is done, the quality of service and the purity of the water can be much more strictly guarded. Three fourths of the larger towns and cities control their water supply.

Chicago takes its water from Lake Michigan; Pittsburgh chiefly from the Allegheny River. Seattle annexed an entire fresh water lake. New York has constructed an enormous reservoir in the Catskill mountains, from which a great



A SMALL PART OF THE LOS ANGELES AQUEDUCT.


The water flows through this concrete flume across this portion of the Mojave desert.

tunnel goes under the Hudson River and on to the city, carrying water for its people. Los Angeles has gone nearly 250 miles into the Sierra Nevada mountains, built reservoirs, and taken what it needs from a pure mountain river. Even after all these stupendous engineering feats, people are not sure that either of these last two cities has procured a supply that will be sufficient for more than half a century.

Although only a small part of the entire water supply is used for drinking purposes, it is necessary that the whole

shall be usable in that way. Cities cannot afford to have two systems, one for drinking water and one for industrial uses. No greater danger to public health exists than impure drinking water.

If the supply is taken from a river or lake into which all kinds of refuse may be poured or thrown, some way must be found to purify the water. Rivers will purify themselves after traveling a few miles, but when towns are built as close together as we find them in these days the river may not have time to do this between one town and the next. Some cities have constructed great filtration plants. Water is pumped from a river or lake and made to filter through vast beds of sand, which remove the impurities. Chlorine



FREE HEALTH PROTECTION.

This public drinking fountain is so constructed as to remove the danger that might come from its use by a great variety of people.

or some other chemical is sometimes used, too, in some part of the process of purification.

From the filtration beds or from the original source, as

the case may be, the water usually goes into great reservoirs or standpipes. Big iron pipes, called mains, carry the water underground through the principal streets. From these, smaller pipes run to side streets or to separate houses.

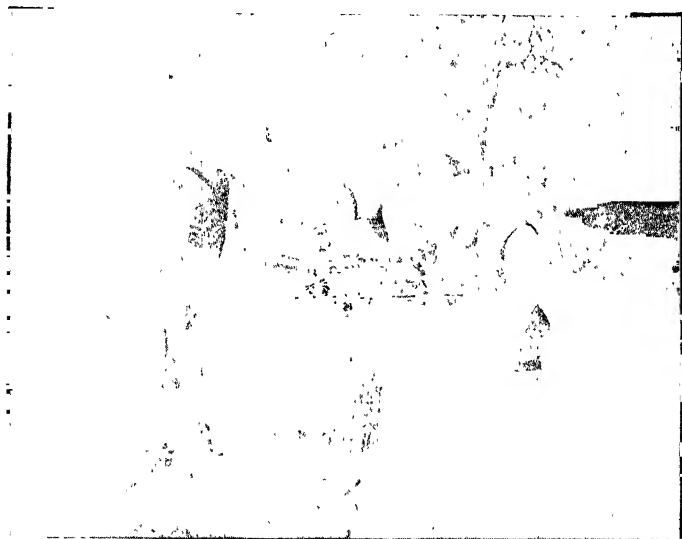
Describe the water supply of your home and community. If you have a public water system, how is payment arranged for the use of the water?

22. The Disposal of Community Wastes. — There are many kinds of waste material which will produce conditions dangerous to our health if they are not disposed of. There is liquid waste, such as rain water, and the drainage from kitchens and bathrooms; and there are the various kinds of solid waste matter — ashes, which we all know about, and garbage and rubbish which every household knows but does not always separate. Different communities have their own methods about handling this rather unpleasant but inevitable problem. Small towns and rural districts are likely to expect every family to look out for the matter itself. The larger the community becomes, the more necessary it is for the community as a whole to make provision for the work.

On the farm, rain water is generally allowed just to flow off naturally with such assistance as roadside ditches and occasional drain pipes in the field may give. The disposal of sewage, or perhaps we had better call it house refuse, has also been altogether too often neglected. It used to be the common thing for a little wooden drain to take the dish-water and washing water from the kitchen a few feet from the house, and let it run on the ground. The outdoor toilet has been altogether too conspicuous on many a farm, and is often inconvenient and usually dirty.

Now there is little reason why this sort of thing needs to continue on any farm. Almost every farm has or can obtain a water supply that will take the water at least into the second floor of a farmhouse, even if it needs the assistance of

a pump. When this is the case, there is no excuse for the absence of as convenient a bathroom and toilet as any city home can have. The disposal of the kitchen water may call for a little more extensive piping than once was given to it. All this waste matter can run into what is known as a septic tank, which, if properly constructed, will bring about the necessary purification in a very short while.



SANITATION IN THE CAMP.

Things must be kept clean whether the boys live outdoors or indoors.

The larger village community and the city will need to have a system of underground sewers to dispose of the rain water and other liquid waste. It is usually considered altogether too expensive to have a separate system of disposal, and so the rain water and other waste are carried out through the same pipes. When a city is situated on the bank of a river, the most convenient thing to do is to let the sewers empty into the stream. But this is not always the safest method, for the water may be completely polluted

by what it receives. Even if the stream will purify itself ultimately it is hardly fair to make another community take a chance on your community's sewage.

In some communities they have a system of sewage disposal in which the sewage is spread over a considerable amount of ground so that the air can get at it. This is feasible only in not too thickly settled communities where the air is reasonably dry. Some other places, such as



REMOVING RUBBISH.

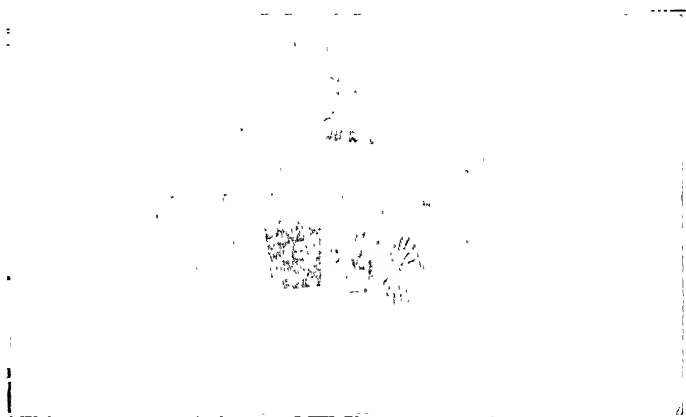
This man had a contract for carrying the stuff away. People paid him five cents a barrel for doing so.

Baltimore, have a special sewage disposal plant where air is artificially forced through the waste matter. After being thus purified the sewage can be disposed of for making fertilizer or some other similar use.

When the community attempts to be responsible for handling the solid wastes—ashes, garbage, or rubbish—there are two things it can do. It can employ its own workers to collect and get rid of the waste material or it can make a contract with a private individual or company to do the work.

Some communities follow one method and some the other. It is almost always insisted, and rightly, that garbage and rubbish shall be kept separate. Garbage includes the waste animal and vegetable matter that will promptly decay, and rubbish includes the other solid waste material like paper, tin cans, old furniture, and that sort of thing.

In some communities a successful business is done in the collection and handling of these wastes. In the rubbish,



A SWEDISH "Is" WAGON.

Notice that they stop on the left side of the street.

for instance, valuable articles are sometimes found. Everything is sorted. The tin and paper are baled separately and the matter which is of no value is burned. The garbage may be put to a variety of uses. The fats can be used in making soaps and, it is even said, cheap perfume. Sometimes the residue after the fats have been removed is used to make fertilizer.

In a community where no provision is made for public handling of garbage, rubbish, and ashes, every family has an added responsibility. They are responsible any time for allowing garbage to pile up in the back yard uncovered. It

breeds flies and encourages rats and other vermin to come near or even into houses. The public dump is often about as disgusting looking a place as one can imagine. If waste material is not properly disposed of by burning, it should be buried and not allowed to decay through exposure to the air. Our own negligence may cause sickness to our neighbors even if we are strong or lucky enough to escape.

How does your community handle the problem of wastes? How may ashes be used? What would you think of a municipal hog-farm as a means of disposing of garbage?

23. A Community's Food Supply. — Until within a comparatively few years, we did not have at all satisfactory means for making sure that the food we ate was either what it pretended to be or of good quality. Now three different agencies are at work to protect us from impure or poisonous food products. The national government has in its Department of Agriculture a Bureau of Chemistry, which makes many tests and investigations of food products. You understand that it is only those food products that are carried in interstate commerce — that is, from one state to another — that the national government can have anything to do with. In 1906 the Food and Drugs Act was passed, which forbade the shipment in interstate commerce of goods which were not labeled so as to make clear what all their ingredients were, or goods which contained harmful chemicals. The national Department of Justice enforces this act against violators, after investigations are made by the Bureau of Chemistry.

The Bureau of Animal Industry, in the national Department of Agriculture, has charge of the inspection of animals in the great stock-yards and of meat sold by the enormous packing houses of Chicago, Omaha, Kansas City, and other middle western places. In fact, in every center of business in meat or live cattle which are carried in interstate commerce, some federal inspectors will be on duty.

In the states the state boards of health frequently have some responsibility in the matter of pure food. In the state governments, too, we frequently find bureaus of dairy inspection, of meat inspection, and of food inspection, which try to keep watch of the goods produced or sold within that state. City governments also, if the city is large, maintain similar agencies.

One rather difficult but very important activity is the inspection of milk. Usually the state has to do something



PASTEURIZING TANKS IN A BIG MILK STATION.

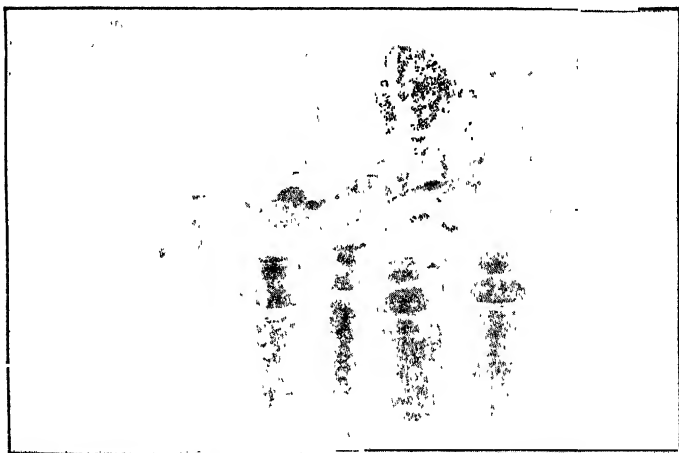
The milk is heated to 145° to destroy disease germs.

about this, because to-day very little of the milk used in a large city comes from cows that are kept there. Most of the milk which the big cities use is gathered from dairy farms scores or hundreds of miles away. The lives of babies in particular depend upon the purity of the milk which is fed them.

Most milk sold in cities now is pasteurized. That is, it is subjected to a temperature of 145 degrees for a half-hour. In this way the dangerous bacteria are disposed of. Keeping

the barns respectably clean where the cattle are kept, and seeing to it that the establishments in the towns which bottle the milk and distribute it to our homes are kept in sanitary fashion, are other difficult but very necessary undertakings.

How to get good food products, especially garden truck and green vegetables, from the farms where they are raised to the families that are to eat them, is something that has not yet been worked out to everybody's satisfaction. The



MILK COMING IN FROM THE COUNTRY.

This picture shows how it is carried on the milk trains.

farmer knows enough about city prices so that if he lives near the city you will seldom be able to buy things much more cheaply at the farm than in the city. But the farmers who live long distances away from town have to depend upon commission merchants to sell their goods. To keep these goods and to keep meat from spoiling on the long journey to our towns has brought about a system of refrigeration which requires the construction of cars particularly for this purpose.

But the commission merchant or somebody else between the producer and consumer usually succeeds in tacking

enough on to the prices so that the city user of farm products pays anywhere from four to twenty times what the farmer receives for them. Some better system of marketing our food products must be worked out, if all our people are to have the good fresh fruits and vegetables that should be among the most healthful items on our bill of fare.

Still another feature of the pure food problem is getting it ready for the table. The housekeeper who does not know about marketing will make many mistakes in buying — either in buying good stuff at needlessly high prices or poor stuff without knowing it is poor. Here is where the schools must help our girls if their parents do not train them properly. Intelligent marketing and healthful cooking mean much for our physical well-being and happiness.

Who would be satisfied with a wife who knew nothing about cooking? What does the word "calories" mean, as applied to food? Do most people read the labels on goods that they buy? If not, is the Food and Drugs Act of any value?

Can you estimate how many people had a part in furnishing your breakfast? What mistakes in the kind or amount of food used are made by people of your acquaintance? Would your own food habits be a good model for others?

24. Slums. — Working people whose wages are small cannot afford to pay high rents. Especially if they are foreigners and anxious to save every penny they can to send back to the old country or to enable them to go back themselves, they will put up with any kind of accommodations. Whole families will eat and sleep in one room and even take in boarders.

The outward surroundings of these places are likely to be equally bad. The owner of the place wants to make all the money he can. If his tenants do not care whether they have green grass or not, he will probably not try very hard to make it grow in their neighborhood. If a few boards thrown together over a foul-smelling cesspool will answer the toilet needs of several families, why go to the expense of anything more? They would very likely keep their coal or

potatoes in the bathtub if they had one. In such conditions good health would be a miracle. Every disease germ that afflicts mankind would find friendly lodgment there. Worse than this, the health of the whole city is endangered. The disease-burdened inhabitant of the slums may pass in the crowded street or ride in the same street-car with a member of the most carefully nurtured family in the city. Garments



WHERE PAUL REVERE LIVED.

Quite likely this was once considered a fairly good residence, but the neighborhood now is not very attractive for children to grow up in.

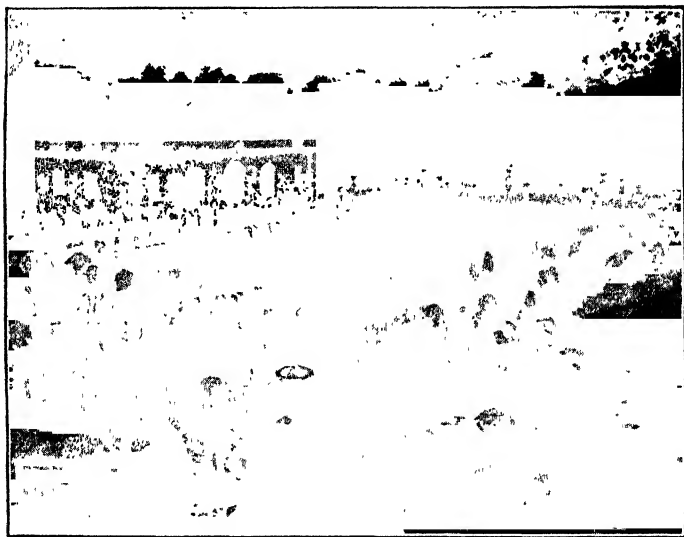
made in these slum districts may go to other cities, taking the dread germs along with them.

The moral effect of this life, too, is unspeakable. Every temptation to crime and immorality is active, and there is little to encourage a person who wishes to keep straight. Voters in these sections care nothing about clean politics or honest government. They pay no taxes, or very few.

Is there any remedy? Yes, something is being done by settlement houses and social workers who try to interest the

slum-dwellers, particularly the young people, in the higher things of life. The schools do a wonderful work in teaching the children how to live, how to keep clean, what things make for good citizenship. In such measures is perhaps our best hope, for we cannot change the older people greatly.

But we can attack the property owner who knowingly permits disgusting conditions to exist. In New York and



A CITY PUBLIC SWIMMING POOL.

Is it worth spending public money to maintain a place like this?

elsewhere scores of tenements have been completely torn down, to make way either for better buildings or to allow a little park, a breathing spot for the people, to come into being. Sometimes the city itself puts up model tenements or provides small one-family houses which are fit for decent people to live in. At least we have begun to realize the evils of the slum and to show a purpose to get rid of them.

25. Places to Play. — We have come to the point to-day where we believe it is a good thing for everybody to take a

day off occasionally — and not only a day, but a week or two. The mill-worker, the clerk, the teacher, and the business man, all feel better and more nearly equal to their task if they can have a change for a little while each year. You know the old proverb, “All work and no play —.”

But vacation, amusement, and recreation do not always seem the same thing. Recreation is what we really need — a



ARE THEY HAVING A GOOD TIME?

These people will take delight in telling that they were at Atlantic City on Easter Sunday, but do you think that they are really enjoying themselves in such a mass?

re-creation of the vigor of mind and strength of body which make it possible for us to perform the tasks of our daily life and work. Recreation is not gadding about, wearing one's self out. On the other hand, recreation is not necessarily “loafing”; it can often take the form of the busiest industry. The chief thing to remember about recreation is that it should be a contrast to the individual's usual work.

and that in its very difference it should bring complete relaxation to both the mental and physical faculties.

Why do some people never take a vacation? Is it ever true that people need to rest up after a vacation? Should it be? What forms of amusement do you consider particularly likely to be overdone? Do older people need recreation as well as young people?



HEALTHFUL EXERCISE.

the same kind? Do we need recreation more, or less, today than formerly? What kind of recreation is an office or store worker most likely to need? a mill worker? a farmer? a city man?

The city which tries to give extra pleasures and benefits to its people is the one where the citizens are most likely to be happy, healthy, and orderly. And so, besides the parks, playgrounds, and libraries, many cities maintain museums and art galleries, and furnish free band concerts for people to broaden their

minds or have a "good time."

Sometimes a wealthy man will by some munificent gift play Santa Claus for the town where he was born or where he made his money. John D. Spreckels did this for San Diego in presenting the city with a wonderful organ for use in giving open-air concerts. Andrew Carnegie put millions of dollars into a marvelous museum, music hall, and library for Pittsburgh.

Probably nothing has done more to improve the life of the poorer districts of a community than the opening of public

playgrounds. Here are swings, sand-piles, and other things which delight the children, and instructors who watch over their play and show them new games. If the playground is at all large, it will have one or more baseball diamonds for the boys and men, and basket ball courts and tennis courts which the girls and women also may use.



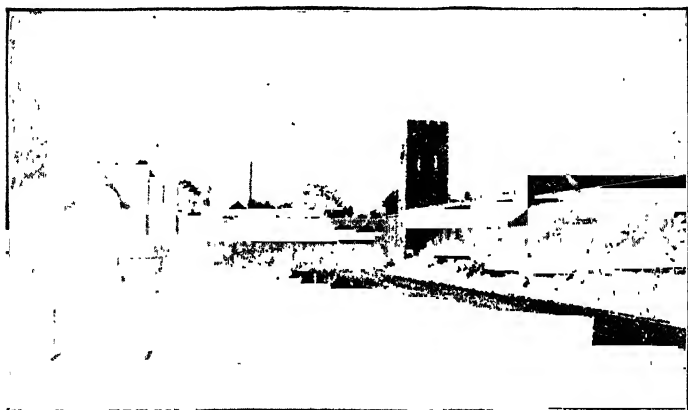
A HEALTHY YOUNGSTER.

This boy is all dressed up, but he looks as if he had good food and plenty of exercise.

There should be a field house with baths, lockers, a gymnasium floor, and opportunity for indoor athletics of all kinds. In some cities there are swimming pools, indoor or outdoor or both, or if the city is at the seaside or lakeside it may maintain public bathing beaches in connection with a playground. Sometimes classes are held which give in-

struction in subjects of special interest to women or children, such as sewing, basketwork, and the like.

To secure the best results from the playgrounds they must be closely and carefully supervised. If all the loafers and rowdies of a neighborhood collect around the playground and make it unpleasant for quiet and orderly people to go there, one may question whether the community is much better off for having the ground, even though the children are safe



A FINE CITY STADIUM.

No, this is not in the United States. It is in Stockholm. It was 6:45 in the evening and a championship "Fotbal" Game had just started. Some American cities have something of this sort.

from the wagons and cars of the street. But if properly situated, and under proper supervision, the playgrounds will minister wonderfully to the health, happiness, and decent living of children and older people alike.

What advantages does your community offer for recreation for men, for women, and for children? Are country or city people better off in this respect? Is it wise to close certain streets against traffic and let them be used for play? What do you think of a community theater?

Back in the days of the Roman Empire it used to be said that if the masses had their "bread and circuses" they would be content. To-day people turn out by the thousands to professional or amateur baseball games; and college athletic associations have to charge high admission fees to keep down the crowds at their football games to proportions that they can handle.

What a tremendous growth we have witnessed in the "movie" industry in a very short time! Not only do old and young, rich and poor, occasionally find it a way to spend the time, but many become so devoted to it that they are unhappy if they cannot go several times a week.

When we consider how many of the young folks of to-day make the movies their principal pleasure resort, we must be convinced that to keep this amusement clean and straight is one of the most necessary and valuable undertakings of to-day. It has been said that you can judge a person by the way he spends his spare time. It is surely true that you can form an opinion of a person's taste by observing the kind of recreation he enjoys.

. . . The care of the public health is obviously a definite duty of any community. It must always display real effort at cleanliness and purity of life and conduct. Pure water, pure food, and healthful exer-



ONE OF THE BETTER TYPES OF MOVIE HOUSES.

Yet if the picture were larger you could read on the signboard in front, "The Eternal 3." What is your opinion of the effect of a photoplay bearing such a title?

cise prevent sickness and promote happiness. This applies to each of us as well as all of us.

QUESTIONS

Show the necessity for good health. Compare the ideas of former times and to-day with reference to disease. What is the record of the United States now in death rates? Where are the best and poorest figures within the country?

In whose hands rests most of the authority for the control of disease? Explain quarantine rules for dealing with individual cases of contagious disease or with epidemics.

Mention the principal means of a public nature which aim to prevent disease. Specify such measures as apply to individual citizens. As far as you have observed, are these laws enforced? Can you do anything about it yourself?

Explain the necessity for public water supply in large communities. From what sources do some of the large cities get their supply? Why must many communities purify their water? What is a filtration plant and of what use is it? Is there any danger in using water from wells? Explain the distribution of water to residences.

What kinds of waste matter have to be drained away and why is this necessary? Explain in general the operation of a sewage system. What is done with the matter collected in the great drains or sewers?

Describe the three kinds of solid waste matter. What methods have been employed to remove these? Which of them is used in your community? What is done with the material collected?

Show the dependence of the city upon others for its food. Where do the principal articles in our bills of fare come from? What is the purpose of the public market? Do you think it helps to lower the price of food? Can you make any other suggestions to that end?

What does the national government undertake to do in order to prevent the sale of unfit food products? Mention activities of state governments in the same direction. What items of food regulation are usually left to local governments? Mention any instances that you know about.

Why do slums come into existence? Do you think the fault is chiefly the owner's or the tenant's that these conditions prevail? In what way do the slums affect their inhabitants and the community at large? How can they be abolished or prevented?

What does recreation really mean? Why is it needed? Describe a well-conducted playground.

SPECIAL TOPICS

- The Most Common Diseases of To-day.
- The Public Health Service of Our State and Community.
- What Sanitation Did for the Canal Zone.
- The Fight against Yellow Fever.
- The White Plague and How to Combat It.
- The Hospitals of Our Community.
- My Experience in a Hospital.
- The Safety First Movement.
- An Ideal Vacation.
- Movies in the Schools.
- Movies Outside of the Schools.
- Does a Farmer Boy Need as Much Recreation as a City Chap?
- An Incinerating Plant.
- The Value of the School Nurse.
- My Favorite Sport and Why.
- What to Do with Our Garbage.
- The Water Supply of Our Community.
- Housing Conditions in Our Town.
- Our Grocery Stores and Meat Markets.
- The National Bureau of Chemistry.
- Resolved, that our community should spend \$—— at once on playground improvements.
- How Our Community Gets Its Food.
- A Septic Tank and Its Value.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

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- Howe: The Modern City and Its Problems, Chapter 15.
- Gillette: Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 13.
- Beard: American City Government, Chapter 10.
- Du Puy: Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapters 1, 17.
- Reports of local Board of Health, State Board of Health, United States Public Health Service.
- Reports of local or state Departments of Food Inspection, Dairy Inspection, and the like.
- Hutchinson: Community Hygiene.
- Publications of American Public Health Association.
- Publications of National Child Welfare Association.

CHAPTER V

PROTECTING THE COMMUNITY

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. — Curran.

Careless and wicked people can do much damage. How does our government afford protection from harm and wrong? What do *we* need to do besides, in helping to look out for ourselves?

26. Protection — From What? — What makes it possible to engage in great business enterprises or even for us to build dwellings of our own? Why is it that day after day, men and women leave their homes and go out to work assuming as a matter of course that in the evening they will return, tired perhaps, but unharmed? Just this. Our governments have set up a system of protection which removes almost all danger of attack by highwaymen, protects our property from thieves, and aids in putting out fires. To make progress possible, security must prevail.

Do you ask why the government has to do this?

It is because of the great menaces to security suggested in two words, carelessness and selfishness. The careless smoker throws down a match and thinks only too late to see whether the flame is out when it strikes the ground or floor. A careless motorist drives his automobile at a speed that endangers the lives of dozens of fellow-citizens. The careless contractor puts up buildings so hastily that they will not bear the weight which they should, or will go up in smoke within a few minutes after a flame is started. The criminal will gratify his own wants no matter whose property, comfort, or life is menaced.

This selfish person is so engrossed in his own gains that he has no regard for what happens to anybody else. He is in a hurry and does not think at all of other people who may be wishing to use the same street. The moving picture proprietor wants to make money out of the children and older people of his neighborhood and puts up a rickety shack that



WHAT ONE FIRE DID.

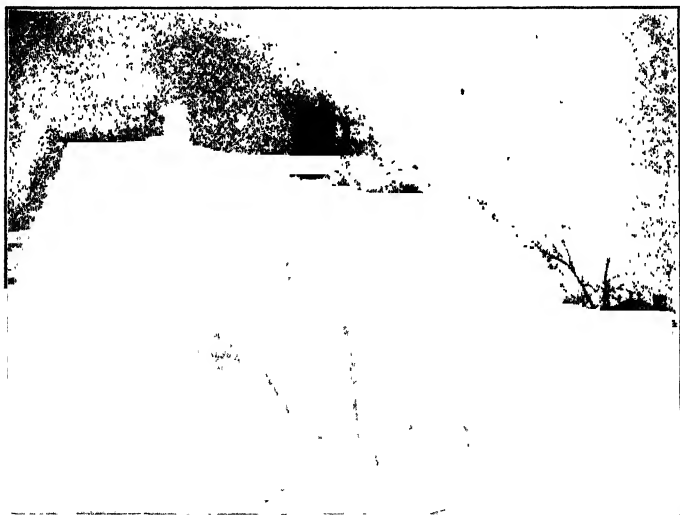
The earthquake at San Francisco started all the trouble, but the fire did most of the damage.

will burn or collapse almost without warning. Now what are we going to do about this?

27. The Fire Fiend. — No other civilized country burns up so much valuable property as the United States does. Somebody has figured out that the buildings burned in a year in this country would line a street 1000 miles long, or as far as from New York to Chicago. The property destroyed in a year in this country is worth more than \$300,000,000. Add to that nearly 2000 lives lost, many thousands of people

thrown out of work, and the indirect losses and expenses caused by ruining homes or interrupting industries, and we get a total impression which is, to say the least, frightful.

The worst part of it is that most of this loss and suffering is pathetically unnecessary. Europe does not suffer such losses. The per capita loss in her large cities is anywhere from one-half down to one-fifth of ours, although we have



WHAT THE FLAME FIEND DID TO A SCHOOL BUILDING.

probably the most efficient fire departments that the world has ever known.

What is the cause of all these fires? Carelessness, criminal carelessness, in more than three-quarters of the cases. Alec Smart threw away a cigarette butt without looking to see whether it was still burning or where he threw it. Mary washed her gloves in gasoline in the neighborhood of an open fire. Uncle John had a bonfire in the garden and did not bother to make sure that it was out when he left it. Some fires are deliberately set. Such an act is almost inhuman,

but fires started by carelessness do just as much damage. Fires that are unavoidable, such as those caused by lightning, do not cause more than one dollar's damage in every seventy dollars lost.

Find out about some of the great fires of history — particularly how they started.

From two-thirds to three-fourths of the fire loss in the United States is covered by insurance. Considerably over \$50,000,000,000 of fire insurance is in force in this country. It comes in very handily if one suffers from a fire, but after all it is a kind of waste, even though necessary. It is simply a means of distributing one man's loss among many so that no one will feel it very heavily. If there were no fires, all the money paid for premiums on insurance could be saved, and these amount to about double the payments for fire losses.

28. Fire Fighting. — There is good reason, then, why the fire departments of the United States are the best in the world. They have to be! The "bucket brigade," which passed pails and tubs from hand to hand from a river or well to the fire, was the old method of showing a community's sympathy and struggle against misfortune, but often meant not much more. The pump on wheels which was dragged to the scene of the fire one hundred and twenty-five years ago could get a little more force applied to the water, but if no well was handy, it was useless. The volunteer fire company, who assembled as soon as they could after an alarm was given, and drew the engine to the fire by hand with the help of long ropes, was a decided improvement; but no large city to-day would care to trust itself to them.

We must have regular companies always on duty, officered and organized to work with military efficiency. We have our engines, our hook-and-ladder trucks, our chemical apparatus which, if the fire has not too much of a start, can put it out without causing the damage that comes from hurling thousands of gallons of water. The largest cities also have

their water-towers and fire-boats to use in getting at a fire which has got started in an awkward place to reach. Electric or gasoline power is generally displacing the horses.

The number of engine-houses and firemen needed by a city depends somewhat on the ground which they have to cover.



KEEPING TRACK OF THE FIRE APPARATUS.

The map shows the original location of the engines and trucks. When an alarm is sent in the numbers representing the apparatus on duty are hung on the board at the right.

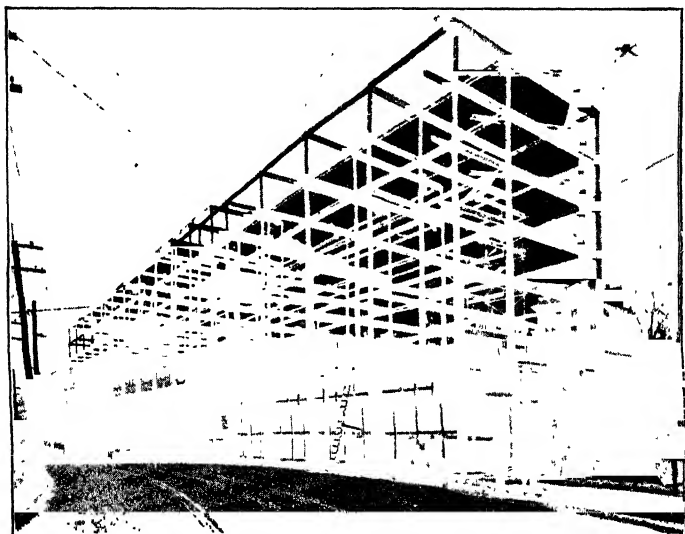
A hilly city, like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, or San Francisco, needs more than a level city. When we see the firemen sitting around in the engine-house playing cards or looking at the scenery, we may wonder why we pay taxes to get men to do that. But when we realize that within ten minutes these same men may be risking their lives to save others and that their skill and courage may keep a whole city from destruction, we are willing to admit that perhaps we should want more pay than they get if we had to take their places.

Many cities have a pension system which enables a fireman to retire from active service on reduced pay after a certain number of years. Special training-schools for firemen are frequently provided, so that they may be fully instructed in everything that relates to their work.

29. Fire Prevention. — Big fires still occur, for sometimes a blaze has gone so far before it is discovered that the best

that can be done is to limit it to the building where it broke out. The proper way, after all, to fight fires is to see that they do not get started. This may be done in two ways: by constructing buildings so as to make them less risky, and by urging people to be careful and showing them how their carelessness may cause a fire.

Most of the large cities now establish "fire limits," within which they do not allow any large wooden buildings to be



PRESENT-DAY BUILDING CONSTRUCTION.

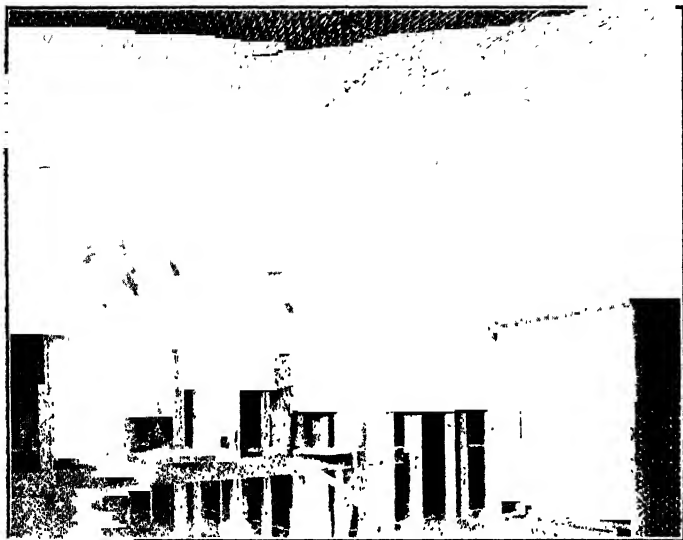
Modern building methods call for a great amount of iron and steel.

erected. Theaters must have asbestos curtains, to shut off the auditorium from the stage and the rest of the building. Automatic sprinklers are installed in many business places. Stairways and air shafts must be of fireproof material, so far as possible.

To protect the lives of people in public buildings, the aisles must always be kept open, doors must open outward, and there must be plenty of fire escapes, all plainly marked.

Many of these requirements must be observed in the construction of tenements. Schools must have fire drills, so that every one in the building may get out in the quickest and most orderly fashion possible.

Fires in homes can be almost entirely prevented by the most ordinary kind of care. The lists of "Don'ts" which are issued by fire officials from time to time are so simple that



HELPING TO MAKE BUILDINGS FIREPROOF.

they seem almost silly, but most house fires are caused by disregard of these simple rules. Electric wiring if done by some one who does not know his business is dangerous. Putting hot ashes in wooden boxes or piling up wood or paper near a stove or furnace is a frequent cause of fire. Common sense would tell us not to do these and many other reckless things, but many of us do not use it as often as we ought.

One reason why fires are not so common in European cities is that the governments pay more attention to the inspec-

tion of private houses and business places than we do, and that they enforce strictly the rules which they lay down. Here we have almost no inspection of private houses. Some cities do have bureaus of building inspection which make factory owners and proprietors of tenement houses comply with the laws. Three-fourths of the states also have fire marshals, who may make regulations for fire prevention and go into any building to inspect it and see that the regu-



A FOREST FIRE DOING ITS DEADLY WORK.

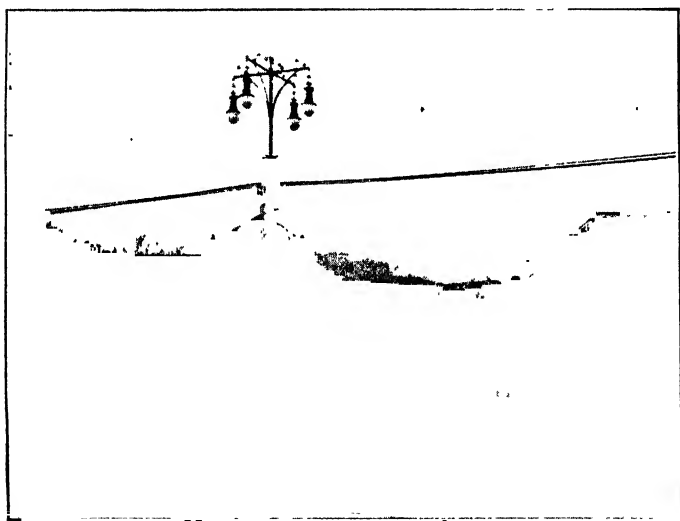
lations are obeyed. They also investigate the causes of fires that have occurred.

What would you do if a fire started where you were?

Another serious form of fire loss is from forest fires. Careless campers and picnickers have caused more harm in a few minutes than can be repaired in a quarter of a century. Sometimes the people of a state are not anxious to spend money for fire marshals, fire wardens, and forest guards, but it has been estimated that to maintain a force of men sufficient to prevent all the forest fires that have occurred would

not have cost one-fifth of the money loss which was actually suffered. One of the most important duties of our forest rangers is to watch from "lookouts" for signs of fire just starting. Then word can be immediately flashed to other workers and the fire may perhaps be put out before it does any serious harm.

30. The Work of the Police. — Probably the first thought that enters our heads if we are asked the duties of the police-



SUBSTITUTES FOR POLICEMEN.

Warning lights, guide lines, and other marks on the highways direct motorists how to keep out of danger.

man is that he arrests law-breakers. True, that is one of his valuable services. He may arrest a person whom he sees committing a crime, or whom he finds acting in a suspicious manner, or for whose arrest a warrant has been issued.

But another important reason for having policemen is to prevent crime. The very fact that there are policemen causes people who are tempted to break the law to refrain

Police Management at Home and Abroad 79

from doing so. Sometimes a word or act from a policeman may keep a person out of mischief, may quiet an unruly mob, or may induce a man to do right instead of wrong.

Still another large function of the policeman is to give advice and assistance to people. The "traffic cop" stands where two or more busy streets intersect, helps ladies get across in safety, and directs the movement of automobiles and street-cars so as to keep them from hopeless confusion. The little girl who has strayed away from her mother and does not know the way home can go confidently and ask the policeman to direct her. Strangers who want to know how to get to the Palace Hotel or any other place expect the policeman to be able to tell them — in fact he is the one person in a strange city in whom a visitor has a right to put absolute confidence. Keeping the streets clear so that parades may pass, preventing disorder at public meetings, warning people who do not clean the snow from their sidewalks — these are a few of the thousand and three things which a policeman has to do.

How have you been taught to think of a policeman?

31. Police Management at Home and Abroad. — In several countries in Europe the work of the police is considered so important that a minister of police is an officer of the national government. When this is the case, the police department of the entire country can act as a unit and handle thoroughly the matters that a policeman might have to deal with. Policemen in such countries are virtually under military discipline and do their work with a thoroughness that Americans may not appreciate.

In this country, except in a few states like New York and Massachusetts, that have one very large city, the control of the police is a local matter. Sometimes the police make up an entire separate department of the city government. Sometimes it is combined with the fire bureau or some other group of officials under the name of the department of public

safety. The person at the head of the police force is usually called chief of police or superintendent. Lower than this officer in rank there may be commissioners or captains as well as lieutenants and sergeants. The great body of the force are usually called patrolmen. Their regular duty is to cover a definite 'beat,' which they are expected to go over

within a certain time, although they may be sent on special duty at almost any time.

From what we have said about the duties of a policeman it surely would seem that such an officer needs to have more than ordinary brains as well as to be somewhat of an athlete. The typical policeman, not so many years ago, was exactly the opposite. Now, however, in any well-governed city, appointments to the police force are made only after candidates take examinations to test the physical



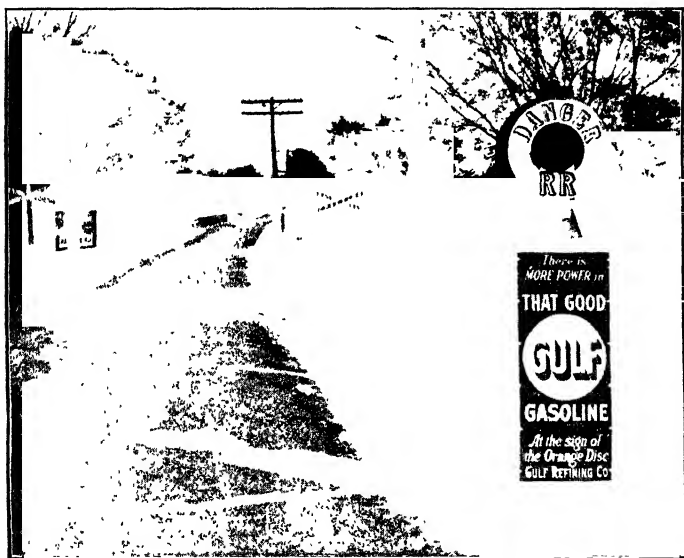
A MENACE TO HEALTH AND SAFETY.

and mental ability of the applicant. It gives you considerable confidence in the way a city maintains law and order to go there and see a set of up-standing, alert-looking men doing the various things that come within the range of a policeman's duties.

Policemen's salaries are nowhere very large. They are often accused of becoming petty grafters upon the people with whom they come into contact on their beat. Such cases are exceptions to the rule. If there is dishonesty, it

Police Management at Home and Abroad 81

is as likely to be higher up in the police department as among the policemen who walk the beats of the city. A policeman has no heart to arrest law-breakers if they are let off without punishment after they have been arrested. That is one of the evil influences that have caused corruption among the police of many of our cities. To look out for those who can



THIS OUGHT TO BE CHANGED.

Many states are requiring railroads to get rid of grade crossings. The warning sign helps somewhat, but fools will drive by it without caution.

no longer work efficiently at a regular job, there are, in many cities, pension funds, in which a pension of perhaps half the policeman's salary will be given him after he has served a certain time, say 25 years. There may also be a similar fund for firemen.

The reason why, in a few cases, the city is not allowed entire control of its police is that the state legislature has felt that what the big city does may have a direct and im-

portant result upon the entire state, and that therefore the state should supervise the enforcement of laws in the big city. It sometimes happens, too, that the big city usually gives a majority to the opposite political party from that which controls the state as a whole. So for these reasons, some good and some bad, state officers may be given considerable authority over the local police.

Which is likely to make the police more efficient, the American or the European system of management? Do policemen deserve pensions? Do police officers in your neighborhood enjoy the respect of the citizens?

32. Other Agencies for Our Protection. — Many of the laws which the policeman of a city or the constable of a smaller community has to enforce are passed by the state legislature. Every such local officer is expected to aid in enforcing the laws of the state as well as the local ordinances of his particular city or village. In each county, too, we usually find a sheriff who is also vested with authority to enforce the laws of the state and arrest offenders against those laws.

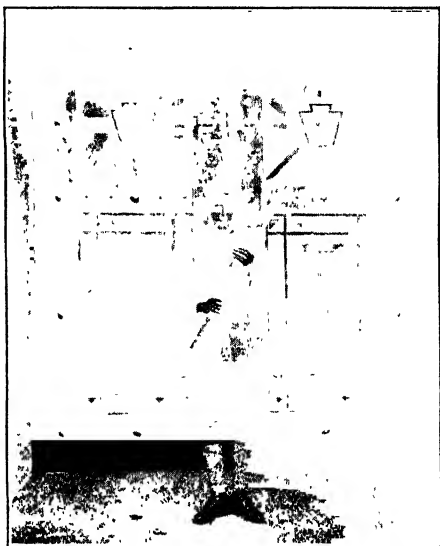
Most of the states do not maintain a permanent police force of their own. They have a national guard or state militia, made up of men who meet a few days once a year for general drill and training and may be called upon at any time to keep the peace in a particular neighborhood in case of a riot, a serious strike, or some other dangerous situation. It may happen that the local officers, policemen, constables, or sheriffs are not strong enough to deal with the situation. Sometimes the militia may be kept on duty several weeks, but sometimes a few days are enough to restore quiet to a community and permit the militiamen to be sent back to their homes.

A few states, of which Pennsylvania and New York were among the first, have a permanent state police force, often known as the constabulary. They may be sent anywhere within the borders of a state. Special care is taken to appoint men to this body who have no fear of any human being

and have sufficient intelligence to deal with any emergency. Sometimes two or three of these men sent to a scene of disturbance will do more than a whole company of militia.

Find out the facts about the national guard of your state and the state constabulary, if you have them.

In theory, the power of the national government extends over the entire country and every citizen of the United States enjoys whatever protection is afforded by the Stars and Stripes. This means a great deal. But it is only rarely in our own borders that any one of us realizes personally the protection of the national government. When some great calamity occurs, such as the San Francisco fire or the Dayton flood, or when some serious disorder has taken place, the legislature of a state, if it is in session, may ask the



A NATIONAL GUARDSMAN IN FRONT OF HIS ARMORY.

President of the United States to send federal troops to help keep peace. This has happened a number of times in our history. The President may send them on his own responsibility if he believes that the authority of the federal government is being disregarded.

American citizens abroad look regularly to the federal government for protection. In times of peace they are

protected by the government of the country where they happen to be. But no American citizen can expect a foreign government to feel any great responsibility for him, any more than an alien in the United States could expect this country to go out of its way to render protection to him. So our consuls in foreign cities look out for our citizens there. Some-



SOME ATLANTIC CITY PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

At the left is a station of the Weather Bureau; next, the caretaker's residence; then the lighthouse; and the headquarters of the United States Coast Guard.

times even our navy or our army may be sent to some place where American citizens are in danger.

The ordinary work of the federal government in affording everyday security seems somewhat limited. Yet we have national laws requiring the use of safety devices on interstate railroad trains and steamboats. Our national department of agriculture tries to aid farmers to get rid of insects and animals dangerous to crops. The Weather Bureau keeps

people informed of probable sunshine or storm, heat or cold, so that they may take proper care of themselves and their property. Our national Department of Justice is engaged in bringing to punishment those who break our national laws. The Secret Service, in the Treasury Department, seeks to prevent counterfeiting and hunt out the criminals who are not easy to catch. Perhaps we do not realize just how much we do owe to our national government.

. . . We ourselves, and our neighbors as well, must be trained to look out for "Safety First" everywhere. The agencies for protection set up by our government need to be aided by conscientious care on our part both to cause no trouble ourselves and to be vigilant against possible danger.

QUESTIONS

Compare American fire losses with those of other countries. Why do we have so many fires? Compare old and new methods of fighting fires. Give an account of the firemen and their work to-day.

State the principal regulations that aim to prevent the loss of property and life if a fire starts. Make out a list of "Don'ts" that may help to prevent fires. Discuss government inspection as a means of preventing fires.

Do you believe in fire insurance? How much is carried in this country to-day?

Make a list of the things which a policeman on an ordinary beat may have to do. What other special services are required of the police?

Compare European police management with that of the United States. What titles are given to officers in our police forces? What qualifications are needed in order to serve successfully on the force? Should the state government have anything to say about the local police? Under what circumstances might the state government take charge of affairs in a community to keep order? Could the national government ever do anything of the kind?

What is meant by "police corruption"? Do you think it is common? Who is to blame?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Our Local Fire Department.

The Great Fire of Chicago or San Francisco or ——(your own or a neighboring town, if it has had one).

What to Do and What Not to Do When a Fire Breaks Out.

Our Local Police.

The Canadian Mounted Police.

What Happens When a Fire Alarm Sounds?

Causes of Spontaneous Combustion.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Howe: The Modern City and Its Problems, Chapter 17.

Reed: Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 28.

Haskin: American Government, Chapters 4, 5, 11, 17.

Du Puy: Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapters 3, 18.

McAdoo: Guarding a Great City.

O'Higgins: The Smoke-Eaters.

Jameson: The Flame Fiend.

Publications of National Board of Fire Underwriters.

Fosdick: American Police Systems.

Fosdick: European Police Systems.

Grafer: American Police Administration.

Reports of local bureaus or departments of fire, police, building inspection, and the like.

CHAPTER VI

TRAINING INTELLIGENT CITIZENS

Education makes a people easy to lead, but difficult to drive; easy to govern, but impossible to enslave.

The schoolmaster is abroad, and I trust to him, armed with his primer, against the soldier in full military array. — Brougham.

We are all interested in schools, either because we choose to be or are forced to be. They call for the expenditure of great sums of money as an investment whose results we cannot always see clearly. Is it worth while? How can education best lay the foundation of a true solid citizenship?

33. What Education Does for Us. — Perhaps it would be well to ask first, “What is education?” People sometimes make the mistake of thinking it means learning many things. Very true, it is desirable to know as many facts as possible, but it is still better to know how to use the talents which we possess. True education is just this: training our talents and capacities so as to use them to the best advantage.

The educated person can earn a better living than the one who lacks education. Education means dollars and cents to almost every one who acquires it. In every walk of life we look up to the man or woman who knows things and can do things. The “bread and butter” motive is, therefore, one of the influences which ought to make us desire to be educated.

Still more important than making a living is making a life. The educated person knows how to enjoy his leisure time. He understands the world in which he lives; he can meet his fellow-men with pleasure and talk intelligently about

things that concern him and other people. The "culture" motive is another impulse toward education.

Besides — to the citizens of a self-governing nation like our own this is perhaps the most important — education promotes good citizenship. There is no sense in giving the right to vote to the man or woman who does not know enough to have an intelligent opinion about the questions with which the government has to deal. The educated



A SMALL TOWN SCHOOL.

These children from the mining town of Decota, West Virginia, do not seem to be sorry that they are going to school.

citizen knows his rights and the rights of his fellow-men and can insist that both be protected. And so, we may add this "social" motive to the reasons why we should seek to be educated.

Which of the motives just mentioned, do you think, influences the greatest number of people? Should any one of them be disregarded by any person? How many rich or prominent people do you know who lacked education? Can you observe any reason, in the case of any of them, for their success without it? Does education always mean going to school?

34. Public Schools and Private Schools. — Most of us can do a great deal toward educating ourselves outside of the schoolhouse, but at the same time most of us get a great deal more education by going to school than we would otherwise acquire. A nation which believes in democracy as much as we do ought to have every citizen as thoroughly educated as his own abilities will permit. Since some parents do not take enough interest in their children's progress to make them go to school, the state has to compel them to do so.

It would not be possible, either, for the state to leave education entirely to the churches. Some denominations think that schools ought to be part of the work of the church, but in most communities those of particular beliefs are not numerous or wealthy enough to conduct their own schools. It would be very unfair if only those were educated who were both rich and members of a certain faith.

Many families, too, cannot afford to pay to send their children to any kind of private schools, and so the state must train them if they are to receive any education at all. For the fitting of the children themselves to take up their work in life honestly and intelligently, and for its own protection from ignorance and lawlessness and incompetency, the state must educate its children.

Some one may ask: Why should those who have no chil-



FROM A VIRGINIA MILITARY SCHOOL.

dren in the schools pay toward the cost of running them? The answer is: Everybody benefits directly or indirectly by it. The great majority of all our people do attend the public schools, 25,000,000 of them are now enrolled in them.

The life, property, and general welfare of every citizen are safer if all the people are educated, and every one is indirectly benefited thereby. And certainly there is just as much reason for a man to refuse to pay taxes to be spent for keeping up any street except those which he uses, as to be unwilling to support the schools to which all the children of all the people may go.

Are you under any particular obligation to the state if you have been educated at public expense? Does the furnishing of free public education by the state create any obligation on the part of public school pupils?

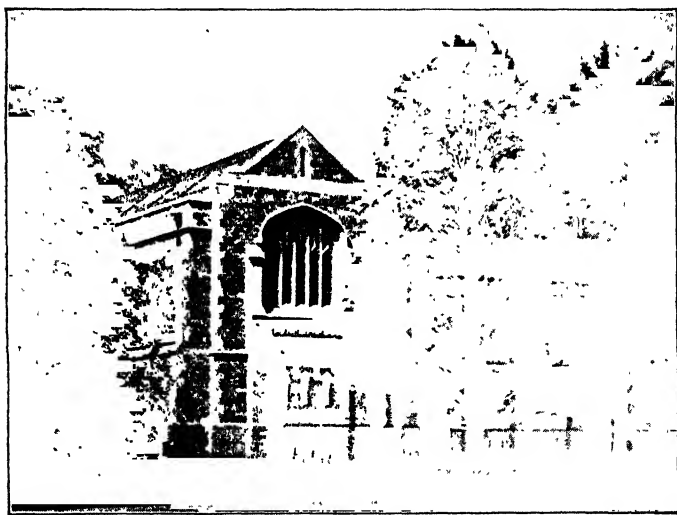
There will always be people, of course, who will be able to pay for the education of their children. There are children of such a nature that they get along better if they receive more personal attention than they are likely to get in large classes in the public schools. Some parents, too, are anxious to have their children get religious instruction at the same time they are taking other subjects. For these reasons and others as well we shall probably always have private schools of various kinds. Many of them do high-grade work, though occasionally we find one whose chief object seems to be to produce snobs or social butterflies.

Are you acquainted with any private schools? What particular benefit, if any, do they provide for their pupils? Are there any disadvantages in private schools?

35. The Administration of School Systems. — Our American schools grew instead of being planned. Each state has worked out its own system of management and organization, and no two are exactly alike. At first the public schools, for example, did not go beyond what we often call "the grades." Academies were left for churches or private enterprise and

generosity to establish, and colleges were wholly outside the thought of the public schools.

It was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that there were many high schools supported by public money. But the twentieth century has witnessed a most wonderful expansion of high school work. The West has followed rather consistently a system of free instruction all the way from the primary school to the state university.



THE ART BUILDING AT VASSAR COLLEGE.

In every state there is a Superintendent of Public Instruction, though not always called by just that title, and usually a State Board of Education, composed of a small number of men interested in the public schools. In about two-thirds of the states the Superintendent is elected by popular vote. In the others he is appointed by the Governor or State Board.

The powers of the State Superintendent and Board vary greatly. In some states they do not do much except receive reports and make recommendations. In others they ex-

ercise a very close supervision over the schools of the whole state. In New York the Board of Regents arranges for uniform examinations to be given throughout the entire state.

In some states the same textbook is adopted for use in every school, but in others each school district or township is allowed to select its own. Some states do not furnish free textbooks, except to poor children.

Should free textbooks be furnished in all public schools? Is it best for all schools in a state to use the same books?

For the management of the schools the common plan formerly was to let each little community form a school district and handle its own affairs. This system began in New England with the very start of the common schools, back in the old days when there were no public schools anywhere else. The districts naturally had very different kinds of schools. One might be rich and be willing to pay for good teachers and pleasant buildings, while the next one might choose its teachers because they were related to the school board, and might have very little money to spend.

But in most of New England and in many other states, the township or city now forms a school district. All the school-houses in the district are under the same management. Often central schools are maintained to which the pupils are brought from all parts of the township. Better teachers and finer equipments can be supplied to all in this way.

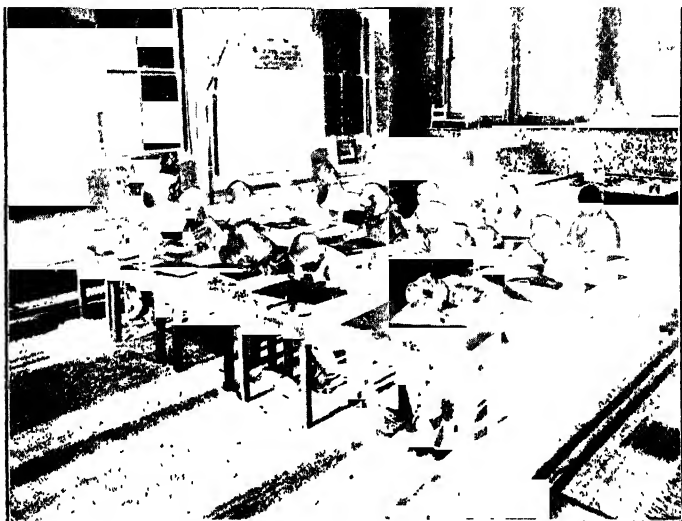
In many southern states the schools, like everything else, are administered by counties. Either the county as a whole is considered a school district or else it is subdivided into districts.

Try to find figures about the attendance in public schools as compared with private schools. How many colleges are there in the country? Name ten of special note. To what extent do women go to college in comparison with men? Do you advise every one to go?

In each school district there is a board of directors or trustees, who are responsible before the law for the conduct

of school affairs in their district. If the district is large or moderately large, they are likely to elect a superintendent and intrust the active management of the schools to him. In each county there is a county superintendent, who in many states is elected by popular vote.

The most important part of the whole school system is the teacher. The most expensive building will be the same



A NEW STYLE OF SCHOOLROOM.

Children sit more comfortably in this fashion than at most of the old-style desks.

as money thrown away if its rooms are not in charge of teachers who know what they are supposed to teach, know how to teach it, and take a real interest in the progress of the boys and girls who come under their care.

Most states now have normal schools for the training of teachers and require most of their high school teachers to be college graduates. Every teacher must have a certificate, which is graded in accordance with the teacher's education

and experience. Politics and family connections should not have anything to do with the choice of a teacher, and a teacher who does good work ought to feel sure of holding his position indefinitely.

Work out a diagram showing the plan of management of your own school system.

36. School Attendance. — Most of the states require that schools shall be open from seven to nine months in the year. Some of the best schools have a ten-months' term. In the South the school term has been shorter than in other sections of the country, but great improvement is appearing there as well as everywhere else.

Are our school days and school terms long enough?

Almost every state requires children to attend for six or eight years — from 7 to 15, or 8 to 16 years of age, for example. Laws against employment of children in mills and factories before they are 14 years old have been passed by several states, and in some, if a child leaves school before he is 16, he must attend a " continuation school " until he reaches that age.

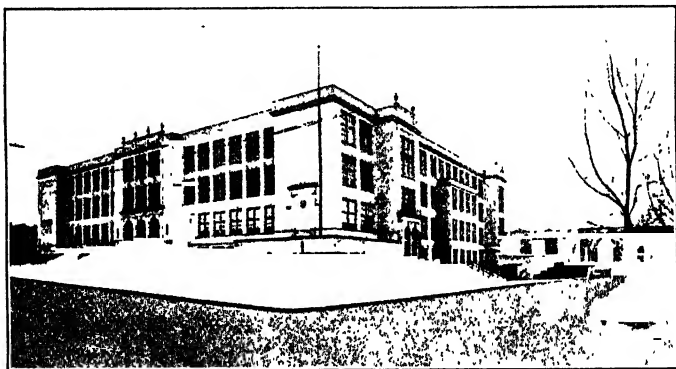
One of the problems of the school has been to keep the children there long enough for them to get an education that would amount to something. Always there are pupils who want to get to work at the earliest possible minute. Many times the parents are as much to blame as the children, for the family income may be small or the parents too lazy to do all they can to give their children a good start in life.

With the improvements that have been made lately in school buildings and in the courses of study, the school offers something for everybody. No one with brains and health ought to feel that he has all the school can give him until he has at least had the benefit of a full high school course.

Can you find how large a percentage of all pupils get into the high school and how many graduate from it? How many of these

go on to college? Use figures from your own acquaintance as well as others.

37. Getting Money for the Schools.—Most of the money needed to keep up the schools is paid by each district in the form of a local tax. This is frequently the largest item in the tax bill, though that fact is nothing against it. No money spent by the city or state gets more returns, even though they may be hard to measure exactly. Throughout the country about three-fourths of the school income is secured from the community which is served by the school.



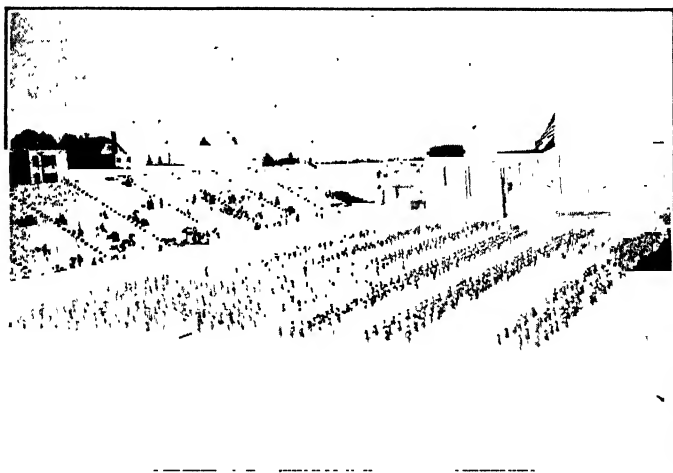
THE WESTINGHOUSE HIGH SCHOOL, PITTSBURGH.

Many states appropriate considerable sums from the state treasury to help out the local schools, especially if there are rural or other needy communities which would otherwise find it hard work to keep their schools at a high standard. In the central and western states it is common to find certain permanent funds definitely set aside, whose income is used to help support the schools of the state. These are usually derived from the sale of public land, either that which was set apart for the use of schools when the townships were first surveyed or which has been devoted to that use since. In some states various kinds of fines, fees, and the like, even dog licenses and liquor licenses, have gone into the school fund.

In the entire country about \$1,000,000,000 a year is spent on the schools, a tremendous sum—less than half of what we used to pay for intoxicating liquor.

How much do the schools cost in your community and state? Do the taxpayers get their money's worth? How does your state compare with others in its support of public schools?

38. School Buildings and Their Uses.—The new school buildings, as they are erected by old and new communities



THE STADIUM, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA.

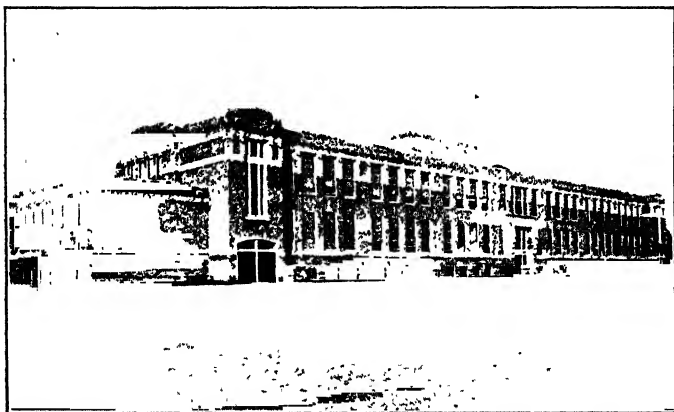
Communities that are favored with facilities of this sort use them for all kinds of public gatherings as well as for athletics. Here the children are formed as a living flag.

alike, are made as substantial and attractive as possible. Fireproof, well ventilated, well lighted, with homelike rooms, the modern schoolhouse is often the finest building in the community. It is possible to be extravagant in putting up school buildings as well as in any other respect, and people frequently complain about the cost of the schools more quickly than about almost any other public expense. But in view of all the school does to make the community a better

place to live in, the people ought to be willing to pay money generously for this purpose, providing it is honestly spent.

The school buildings ought to be used more than they are. In the holding of public meetings, lectures, social gatherings, entertainments, educational and civic clubs, the schoolhouses can be made of very great service to all citizens, old and young.

Often it is wise for the playgrounds of a community to be managed in connection with the schools and to be located,

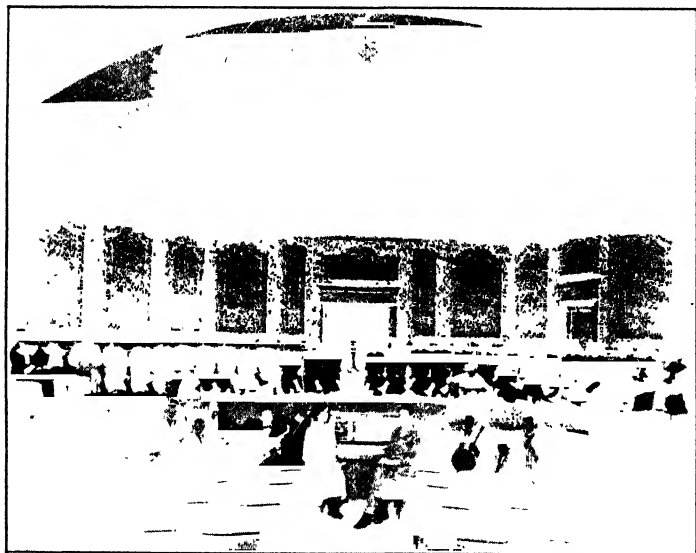


A MODERN PUBLIC SCHOOL.

if possible, on the school grounds. The right kind of play is itself part of our education. If we train the mind without caring for the body we are neglecting the foundation of all health and sanity. Gymnasiums have a place in the ideal school building as well as book closets.

Taxpayers have a right to expect that they will get their money's worth out of the schools as well as out of anything else that they pay for. To make the school building serve as many pupils as possible at once without putting them on part time, as too often school authorities have had to do, the so-called "platoon" system has been developed. Under

this plan the pupils are arranged in two groups. While one group is meeting in the regular class-room, the other is working in the shops, laboratory, auditorium, playground, and similar places; and then at stated times the groups exchange places. Sometimes such an arrangement requires the lengthening of the school day, but that is not necessarily a calamity. Night schools and summer schools also make it possible to use school buildings all the time.



IN A HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM.

The pupils in this group were practicing for a minstrel show. The stage is large enough so that basket ball can be played on it.

Do parents take enough interest in what goes on at school? How many of the new ideas in school progress has your school adopted, such as the "platoon" system, the junior high school, opportunity classes, and the like? Do you think these are fads, or have they come to stay?

39. What Shall We Teach in the Schools?—How can we make the schools most useful to all the people? That

question is asked more often than any other to-day by those who are interested in them. "Readin', and 'ritin', and 'rithmetic" no longer are the only subjects in the course of study, though they must always be given prominence. History and civics, music, art, science, foreign languages, commercial subjects, and others have their place, in many cases beginning in the early years of the course. School



TRADE TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The work done by these boys has a money value to them for it is readily sold outside the school.

organizations such as civic clubs, debating clubs, athletic teams, if properly managed — not to mention the Junior Red Cross, the Boy Scout and Girl Scout Troops which are often managed in connection with the schools — may also be educational in the truest sense.

Lately a great deal of attention has been given to subjects directly useful in the routine duties of home or industry, such as cooking, sewing, woodwork, metal work, and the like. Even though a larger percentage of the high school

graduates each year go on to college, we feel that the pupils who cannot go to college must be given just as good a training as those who do, for as long a time as they are in the schools. Colleges are becoming more liberal, too, and many of them are willing to take a high school graduate who has made a good record in any course which the high school has offered.

Night schools for the benefit of those over sixteen who have to work in the daytime are common in every large city, and a special appeal is made to foreigners to take advantage of these schools in order to learn English and otherwise qualify themselves to be American citizens.

Do we teach too many things in the schools to-day? Is it possible to make school work too easy? Can a person be educated through courses in manual training, cooking, and the like?

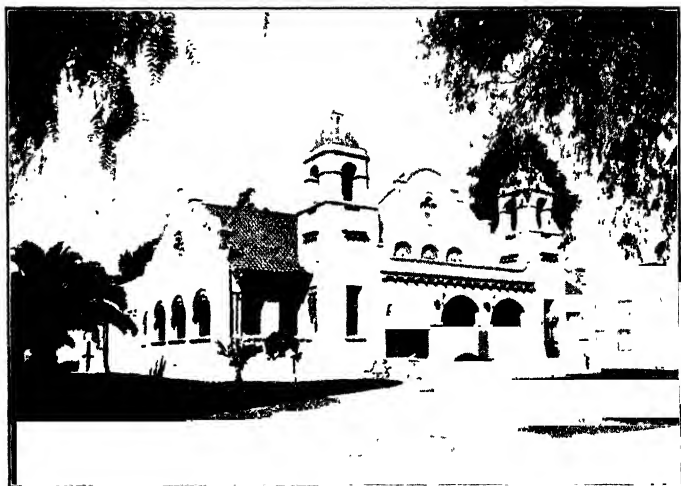
Of what benefit is your school work to you? Can you judge the value of a course in school by the money you earn afterward? What changes in your course of study have been made in the last few years? Do you recommend any others?

40. Other Sources of Knowledge and Culture. — It is a bad mistake to think one's education is ended when he gets his diploma. It should never end. There are always opportunities to learn more things and to find how to do them better. We can constantly broaden our interests and raise our ideals. Hardly any community is so small as to have no opportunity to listen to worth-while lectures, concerts, and the like — though, of course, some communities offer greater opportunities than others in this respect.

The American people, it is said, are the greatest magazine-reading nation of the world. The circulation of some of our weekly and monthly publications reaches well over a million. Almost any community of any size has one or more newspapers. These publications are of all grades and merits, as we might expect, but nobody is so poor that he must get along without any reference to these purveyors of current news and ideas.

Other Sources of Knowledge and Culture 101

But very few families can afford all the books, magazines, or newspapers which at some time or other they want to use. Now that our schools have done so much toward arousing in our people an interest and pleasure in reading, it is clear that the community must choose between providing the means of meeting this desire of the people or letting it go almost wholly ungratified. Every progressive community of as many as a



THE RIVERSIDE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

This is one of Carnegie's libraries. The trees and the style of architecture may be sufficient to inform you that this is California.

few thousand people now has a public library, from which any citizen may draw books for home use and where he may go to study, amuse himself, or merely pass away the time. The great majority of these libraries are maintained by public taxation, and in many cases building and all are paid for by the community.

Wealthy citizens have often adopted the idea of giving a town a library building when they wished to do something for it. Town after town in the United States owes to Andrew

Carnegie the existence of its public library to-day. It has been his rule to insist that a town which received a library building from him must agree to contribute each year a certain sum to keep it in good running order. No doubt this requirement has made many a community help to educate itself when it otherwise would have neglected this duty on the plea of expense.



IN THE CARNEGIE MUSEUM, PITTSBURGH.

Here one can get a notion of what these monsters looked like when they were alive.

In a number of states the state government has undertaken the support of a library system, particularly for the benefit of the rural districts. Traveling libraries, as they are called, are sent from place to place, remaining in one community awhile and then being exchanged for another set of books which a different community has been using. There is no question of the great service rendered to the people in this way.

In both city and country, libraries have discovered that one of the most effective fields which they can cultivate is the public school. The library may send out assortments of books which the school will keep for some time, and use in connection with its class work. It encourages children to come to the library to read and to use its reference books. For the younger ones it may hold a story hour, when some one gifted in talking to children will tell them the great fables of literature, stories about famous men and women of history, or other things which they like to hear which are at the same time helpful in some way. Get a child started on the right path in his reading, and you have done much toward making him a thoughtful and valuable citizen.

Is there any difference between the object of the library and of the school? If so, what is it? How many books are in your local library? Of what kinds are they?

Are you familiar with the exhibits in your museums, art galleries, and the like? What have they to offer that will benefit you in school work or general culture?

... Our schools ought to reach all of our future voters and give them the best and most intelligent training that money can buy and earnestness secure. It is the job of each one of us to make his community's investment in him count for all that it can.

QUESTIONS

What is education? Mention various motives that urge people to become educated.

Why do we need public schools? Why should all taxpayers help support them? What advantage or disadvantage is there in public schools as compared with private schools?

Why is there considerable difference in our public schools between one state and another? What parts of our public school system have grown most rapidly in late years? Give the main general facts about state supervision of the schools. Explain the changes in the "district" school system.

How are the schools in a district managed? Discuss the importance of the teacher and the qualifications he ought to have. Is the teacher's work appreciated as it should be?

What are some of the laws about school attendance? What is a continuation school? When and under what circumstances is it justifiable for a child to drop out of school? Who supplies the money to maintain the schools? From what sources is it derived? How much does it amount to?

Is it justifiable to spend large sums of money on school buildings? For what purposes other than holding classes should school buildings be used?

Mention some of the new features in the arrangement of school programs. Is it wise to teach all pupils in just the same way? Can you think of any real improvements that could be made in the schools that you know about?

What are the principal subjects taught in the schools to-day? Which of them were not taught when your father was in school? your grandfather?

Enumerate all the educational opportunities that your community offers. What does the public library do for the community? What are Carnegie libraries? traveling libraries?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Schools of a Century Ago.

An Eight-hour School Day.

The Gary Schools.

Pupil Self-government in Schools.

The Public School System of Our County.

The Schools of England.

Resolved, that a person who endowed a newspaper would be doing a greater service than one who endowed a college.

A Plan for Continuing My Education After I Leave School.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Lessons in Community and National Life, A-11, A-27.

Gillette: Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 18.

Ross: What Is America? Chapter 5.

Magruder: American Government, Chapter 28.

Reports and Bulletins of your local schools, of your State Board of Education, and of the United States Bureau of Education.

Reports of your local or nearest library and museum.

Eggleston: The Hoosier Schoolmaster.

CHAPTER VII

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF COUNTRY LIFE

*To one who has been long in city pent,
'Tis very sweet to look into the fair
And open face of heaven — and to breathe a prayer
Full in the smile of the blue firmament. — Keats.*

Country life is variously painted as picturesque, ideal, humdrum, completely isolated from comfort and convenience. Are the problems of the rural districts really different from those of the city? What are their particular needs?

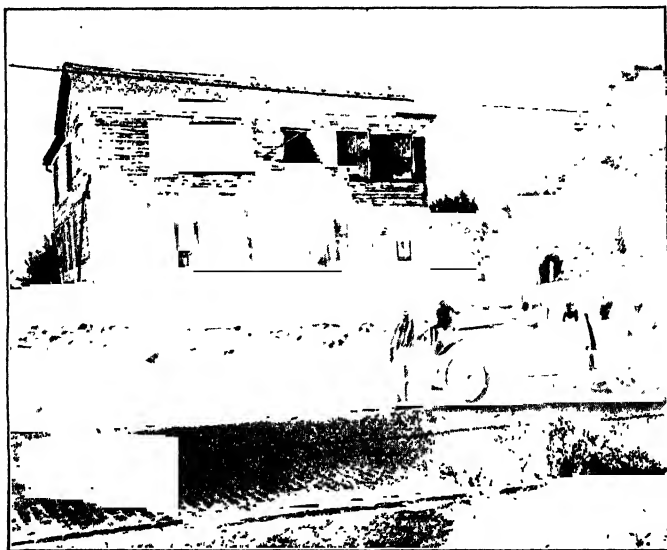
41. **The Importance of the Farmer and His Work.** — Why should a city boy or girl speak of the brother from the farm as a “Rube” or a country “Jake”? Judging by the records of men who have become nationally famous, the country product has by far the best chance to make something of himself. The only one of our presidents who was born in a large city was Roosevelt, but no one has ever taken a greater interest in country life or experienced more keenly “the call of the wild” than he. From the country has always come the strong, red-blooded man or woman who could supply the steadiness, the nerve, and the courage which the city’s idleness, luxury, and vice failed to provide.

Ninety-seven per cent of the people of the United States were rural in 1790, though a few less than half are so rated to-day. But after all, nearly one-third of all our workers are on the farm, more by considerable than are engaged in any other occupation. This nation cannot live without the farmer. The city cannot raise a tenth of what it needs to eat. The farm can do without the city much more easily

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than the city can do without the farm. If the farm falls into decay, the nation is ruined.

Farm folks and city people are all human beings. They all need good health, they need coöperation in protecting one another from various dangers and troubles, they all need schools to train their children. It is a mistake to think of the two groups as if they had little or nothing in common.



PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S BIRTHPLACE.

Most of our great men were born in humble surroundings.

The difference between the two is mainly just this: most problems, for the man of the city, result from the fact that so many people live close together; for the farmer, in part, from his isolation, or if that is too strong a word, from the fact that people do not live close together in the country districts. Thus this distinction gives a different turn to the various problems which all people in all communities have to a greater or less extent.

Do country people act any more foolishly in the city than city people do in the country? Is there any reason why city people should be more refined in manners than country people? Are they? Does difference in manners, if any exists, represent simply an outward show or does it represent any difference in real character? How many of the great men or women of your community were born in the city? How many were born in the same community? How many were born in large cities? How much do you know from actual experience about country life? city life?

42. Some Unfavorable Conditions in Country Life.

— Year by year country boys and girls have been making their way to the city to find fame and fortune. What is wrong? Something must be out of place, when thousands upon thousands every year leave the freedom of the open country life to settle in the already crowded cities and never go back.

Those who have looked into the matter offer the following reasons why so large a part of our rural communities have been either standing still or going backward.

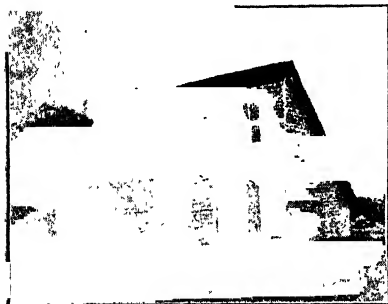
There was a deadly monotony about life. The men farmed the same way year after year with no change in the quiet routine of duties. What their grandfathers had done, they continued to do and no more. The women had no interest outside of their own homes to vary their peaceful but tiresome existence. The boys and girls had few amusements. The roads were their only playgrounds, the country grocery



A QUIET RURAL SCENE.
Notice the old style fence.

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store the only social center, and ahead of them was not even the inspiration to advance which existed a century ago; for



AN ABANDONED FARMHOUSE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

We see too many scenes like this in some of the older parts of New England.

then most people lived on farms and one had as good a chance as another, but now they seemed hopelessly distanced in the race of life even before they entered.

Much sentiment has been wasted on "the little red schoolhouse." Thanks be that we had it, for it was far better than nothing, and many great men got all their training there except what they

picked up by themselves. But a little red schoolhouse that was open only six or seven months in the year and was presided over by a helpless maiden lady or young girl who had not been through the high school herself could hardly supply the modern demands for education.

The roads were, nearly half the year, unfit for use because of snow, mud, or dust. But what else could you expect when men were allowed to



A LITTLE COUNTRY SCHOOLHOUSE.

"work out" their taxes by putting in time on fixing the roads?

Even the church, the bulwark of the rural community of the past, seemed hopelessly a back number. Instead of one or two churches which could stand strong and wield a

real power in the community, there might be half a dozen, squabbling now and then over points of doctrine and not one of them doing anything to build up a vital moral life among the people. And moral delinquency among boys and girls was just as sad and common in some country districts as in the city. But again, what could you expect when a pastor was lucky to get \$200 or \$300 a year, and had to run a farm besides to keep his family from starving?

We do not need to suppose such conditions to be necessary or typical of farm communities. Go to a county fair in



IN THE SPRINGTIME.

Kansas or Iowa or California or many another part of the West. Watch the sunburned but sturdy farmers' families as they drive up with their "machines." They are strong, happy, and need no charity from any one. But city people should not forget that farmers do have problems and have a right to a square deal.

43. The Farmer and the Highways. — Take, for example, the problem of community planning. We said that one of the great requisites is convenience. The farmer to-day cannot amount to anything if he lives a hermit life. He sells his produce to communities miles away and buys many things from them. If he is to keep in touch with the rest of his

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neighborhood, he must meet with them at church, at the Grange, at the fair, or the political meeting. His family must also travel some distance in going to school or to the other meeting-places we have just mentioned.

How vitally important, then, is the country road! How much less it costs in time, in energy of man and beast, in wear and tear of wagons and harness, or in gasoline, if the road is smooth and reasonably level! And this matter is of importance to the city dweller too; for he must have the farm

produce, and if it costs more than it should to get this to the railroad station, he must pay an extra sum for such waste of time and energy.

The national government itself has realized the seriousness of the problem. It has appropriated many millions of dollars to be spent to assist those states which are trying to improve their rural roads. Most states are taking up the work in earnest. Great



WINTER TRAVEL IN THE COUNTRY.

Country people usually think sleighing is great fun — and it is.

stretches of macadamized or concrete highways reach for miles upon miles where once were nothing but muddy, dusty, or stony wagon-tracks. And all this is in addition to what the local governments are doing. Yet after all less than one-tenth of the highways of the country are paved.

If you have not already made a map of your township or county, do so now. Show on it all the public roads, indicating what kind of construction they received. Do you find any that need repairs or improvement? Why isn't it done? Consult farmers or teamsters who can tell you what it costs to carry freight in your neigh-

borhood and how much difference it makes to them whether the road is good or poor. Study also the kinds of roadways sufficiently to determine what kind is best for your section. If you have the chance, observe a piece of road under construction. Notice the grades, ditches culverts, tools used, and any other features of importance.

In many sections of the country inter-urban electric lines cater particularly to the business of the farmers along the way. They help to take the farm products in to market and make it easier for the farmer and his family themselves to take advantage of what the larger towns have to offer them in the way of trade or entertainment. The national government has made a special effort to develop its parcel post system so that eggs, butter, and other perishable products can be carried quickly and safely directly from the farm to the city family.

44. Health in the Farm Community. — Health is another element of welfare even more vital than convenience to both the rural family and the city resident. As the farmer's family are likely to be outdoors much of the time, they have one great physical advantage. But too often this is only just about good enough to offset some flagrant disregard of other laws of health.

Sometimes the water for the household is taken from a well which is so situated that drainage or sewage from the house or stable soaks down into it. After a while some one has typhoid fever, but nobody can guess the cause. Sometimes the stables are not kept clean, the pails used when the cows are milked are not thoroughly washed, and the milk becomes another source of disease. Now if this milk is sold in a village or city, the deadly germs are carried with it. Another evidence of the close connection between country and city!

Then there is the disposal of garbage. Perhaps it is thrown out for the hens to pick over, or dumped into the pig pen, which is usually vilely filthy. While it is being kept until ready for such a use, it may have been left in a bucket back of the kitchen door where the flies have easy access to it.

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Another matter is that of quarantine against contagious diseases. There is no doctor within a few blocks who can be called the instant anything is out of the way. Therefore a child who, without knowing just what is wrong, is coming down with some disease, can expose everybody whom he happens to see. Epidemics have been just as pitiful scourges in the country as in the city.

In suggesting these things, we do not mean to cast any reflections upon the good intentions of country people. But just mentioning them is enough to show that the care of conditions which promote health is every bit as real a problem in the country as in the thickly settled community. And of course pure food, personal cleanliness, and sanitary and pleasant homes are of equal interest everywhere.

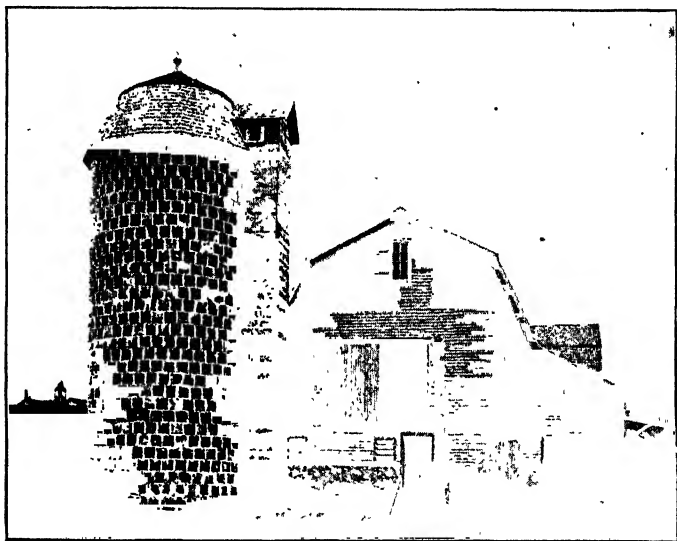
45. Protecting Life and Property. — From the standpoint of protection the rural community finds conditions much different from those of the city. The country community cannot afford to maintain an expensive fire department, with modern engines and hook and ladder companies. Instead of an electric alarm system notifying a paid fire company, the church bells call out all the community. With pails and tubs they pass water from the nearest well, spring, or stream, but if a fire gets a good start, the situation is almost hopeless. In some places we find volunteer fire companies with some equipment, and these at times do good service.

Fortunately the houses in the country are often far enough apart so that the fire may be limited to the building where it starts; but if once a blaze gets under headway in the group of frame buildings that usually appears in a country village, several of them are likely to burn. Sympathy, coöperation, and assistance in making a new start are ever abundant among country people. Yet the rural home-keeper who does not carry fire insurance is making a mistake which he may some time regret bitterly.

Crime occurs in the country as well as in the city. But

since the people are scattered and less wealth is on display, there is less temptation for the sneak thief and the burglar. Seldom do we find a paid policeman except in the large villages, and the rural constable and justice of the peace are plain members of the community like anybody else.

To a greater degree than most city people the farmer finds the national and state governments of direct use to him in



PART OF A SUCCESSFUL FARMER'S EQUIPMENT.

protecting his property, especially the growing crops which mean so much to him. The warnings of the Weather Bureau about storms, frosts, floods, and the like, he can get through the rural mail delivery in season to be of great service to him.

That crops to the value of nearly \$800,000,000 are ruined in one year by insects, and property worth \$167,000,000 is annually destroyed by rats, are facts which directly concern the farmer. And so whatever is done to prevent this loss is of great interest to him, whether by the national Department of Agriculture or the similar state bureau. Some-

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times when a state or national agent finds the farmer's cattle suffering from an infectious disease and orders them to be slaughtered, the farmer is tempted to regret this activity. But after all, this is a phase of the work of protecting the community which he would surely wish to be performed if the cattle were somebody else's.

Bulletin after bulletin issued by the state or national department concerns the potato blight, the army worm, the cotton boll weevil, the preservation of insect-eating birds, and countless other similar matters of direct significance to



A FARMING SCENE IN SOUTHERN GERMANY.

Notice how the land is cultivated in strips as it was done in the Middle Ages. The little town of Dilsburg is on top of the hill.

the farmer. Since these bulletins are sold cheaply or are even given away, a much wider use ought to be made of them than is made now.

How much use has your family made of these?

46. The Rural School. — Great has been the improvement in late years in the school facilities offered to the country boy and girl. Instead of several little red school-houses (more likely to be white to-day), we find well-equipped central buildings to which the children are carried in the morning and from which they are brought home in the

evening by some one paid by the school district. Even high school education is generously distributed all over the state. Especially in the far West every county is likely to have a union high school, even if the smaller communities cannot afford one.

Very noticeable, too, is the adaptation of the course of study to suit the needs of the country resident. Science, for example, can be taught so as to apply to farm life as well as to the factory in the city or to the smelter in the mining districts. Agriculture itself is taught as a regular subject in the curriculum. In some states a person cannot get a certificate to teach in a rural school unless he has qualified in that subject as well as others. Courses in the fundamental principles of home-making are not only offered to girls, but are required of them, so that they can be better fitted to do their part to make farm life happy.

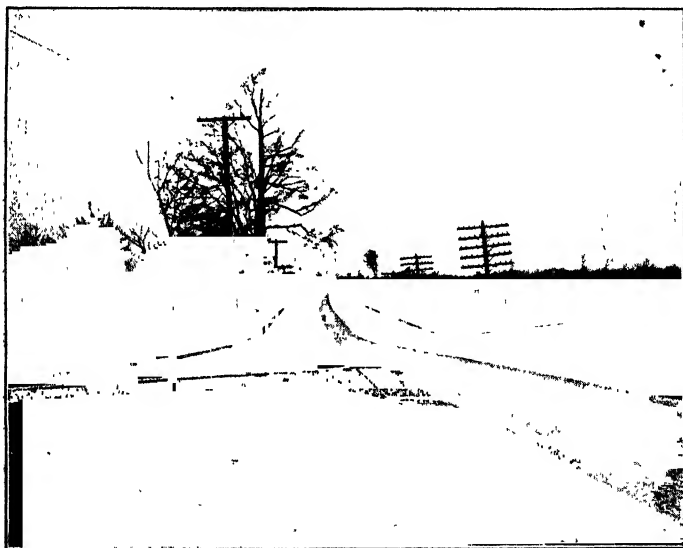
Of course no one will wish to hinder a country boy or girl from taking subjects which will qualify him to enter college. Rather should we encourage such an ambition. But there are plenty of colleges that will accept the work of a good rural high school as readily as of a city school, for they know that when the country youth comes to college he comes in earnest. Besides, in many states the rural schools and city schools form a part of a great system with the state university at its head. Then the graduate of one steps just as naturally into the higher work as the graduate of the other.

47. Good Things in the Farmer's Life.—Does farming need to be a lonely life? Not for one who has an appreciation of all the great living forces of nature so lavishly manifested to the country dweller. Not when it is so easy as it is in many districts to-day to keep in touch with what is going on in the rest of the world. Several rural states have more telephones in proportion to their population than any thickly settled state. The farmer's wife can call the doctor, talk "clothes" with her friends, and hear all the neighborhood

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news without going out of her own sitting room. The rural mail carrier comes at least once every day, bringing the daily paper and one or more of the excellent farm journals now published.

The schoolhouse is often a center of community activity in the country as well as the city. Entertainments, Grange meetings, extension courses with lecturers from the state



BRICK AND CONCRETE COUNTRY ROADS.

university, can be held there. It can be a social center in every sense of the word. Some communities prefer to make the church such a social center. There is a great field for a church which wishes to make its influence felt in the life of its people during the whole week as well as on Sunday. Frequently we find, too, that instead of continuing several weak, uninspiring little churches the people unite in a federated church which is a real power and serves its neighborhood in countless ways.

Then in the summer a Chautauqua may be held, and the people may hear strong messages from thinkers in other parts of the country and enjoy some of the better types of entertainment. In the fall there is usually a county fair, to bring



MAIN STREET IN A COUNTRY VILLAGE.

the people together from miles around, to show what they have raised, to see what others have done, and to watch the exciting finishes in what somebody once called the "sport of kings."

The young folks are not neglected, either. They are welcomed into the Grange as soon as they are old enough

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to enjoy it, or perhaps they have their own community club. Sometimes in connection with the schools, sometimes under other auspices, corn clubs are organized for the boys, canning clubs for the girls, contests to see who can raise the biggest hog in several counties, and many other activities which add zest to the farm work and make the young people feel that they have a real part in the nation's life. They cannot go to the "movies" after supper every night, but they can do many things that the average city or small town boy would never be able to undertake.

When you come to think it over, it seems as if sometimes the worst problem for the boy and girl may be the life in a half-grown village or small town. There we may not have either the healthful hard work of the farm or the wide variety of interests of the city. Poor shows are degrading, but the town cannot afford high-class ones. Churches may be too weak and perhaps too numerous. Gambling clubs and "speak-easies" may be found, and many a boy gets a downward start in such a place.

Yet there are all kinds of small towns. Some are delightful places to live in. There is enough "doing" to keep interest alive, without the constant strain and hurry of city life. The people of any community can make it just about the kind of place they wish it to be.

Did you ever know either kind of small town? Can you make any suggestions about keeping small town life attractive?

. . . There is no need for city folks to pity those who live in the country. The farmer deserves simply a square deal. If he has it, he can face the world with contented confidence that he can look out for himself and the assurance that the nation cannot get along without him.

QUESTIONS

Is there any justice in the contemptuous attitude sometimes assumed by the city resident toward the farmer? State the comparative importance of the farmer.

What reasons can you offer for the decline in population and prosperity of many rural districts? How does your state appear

in statistics on this subject? Did you ever spend enough time in the country to learn anything about the situation? Is backwardness characteristic of farming communities everywhere?

To what extent does the large community depend upon the farmer? How far does the farmer have to depend upon outside sources? Make clear the ways in which the railroads, interurban lines, and regular highways affect the life of the farmer. How does the condition of the roads directly touch the farmer's pocket-book? What kind of roads are most suitable for the country districts? Why are there not more of them? Are the great highways — the Lincoln Highway, for example — of use to the farmer?

Show the bearing of health regulations upon rural life. Give examples of disregard of health conditions. Compare the means of fire protection in city and country. Where is the need of police protection greater, and why? Show how the federal and state governments can be of help in the saving of crops.

How are the school administration and courses of study being adapted to rural needs? (If yours is a rural school, give extended time to the discussion of these questions.) How can the church be made an effective factor in the upbuilding of rural life? What attention can the farmer give to reading? What part in farm life is provided by the rural mail delivery? the traveling library? the agricultural college? the Grange? the county fair? What interest and forms of recreation are available for the country boy or girl? What pleasures or social privileges exist in the country which the city does not enjoy? Compare the small town in this respect with both country and city.

SPECIAL TOPICS

President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission.

Country Road Construction.

A Course of Study for the Rural School.

Corn Clubs and Canning Clubs.

The Country Church.

The Rural Carrier.

Chautauquas.

The History and Services of the Grange.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCE

Gillette: Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 12.

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNING LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint. — Webster.

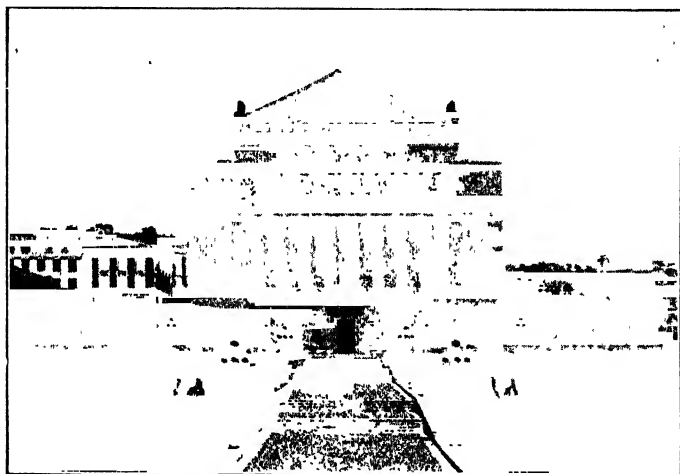
Though all communities have their own special needs and characteristics, they have at least one feature in common — they all must have some form of government. How is government provided for our local communities? Should American local government be uniform?

48. What Local Governments Have to Do. — Almost all of the problems which we have recently studied are handled through the local community. Under our system of government, there are some advantages in letting ourselves think that we all have a part in administering our own affairs. We may take more interest in the things we ourselves do, or the things that our neighbors do for us, than those directed by some distant authority. The result ought to be that the thing would be better done, because each person has done his best. But unfortunately here comes much of our trouble — too many things are done by persons without any special training, or even without any fitness at all. We therefore often do not obtain any real efficiency in the governments of our local communities.

Yet many things must be done, and many responsibilities taken by the people who live on the spot. No doubt a superior government of some kind can be of help and hold local officers responsible for performing their duties. But how much should be done by the state and how much by the local government? Local boards of health have protected the community from contagious diseases. Local constables

or firemen try to protect life and property. Local officers collect our taxes. Most of our robberies and other crimes are tried in courts close to the places where the crimes were committed. Until very recently most of our road-building was done by local officials.

It is useless to think about protecting the health of the community, training citizens, protecting the community from fire and crime, improving civic attractiveness, or count-



MEMORIAL HALL, PITTSBURGH.

A county building erected in honor of those who took part in the Civil War.

less other necessities, unless we know something about the machinery by which the many things are done so as to satisfy the community's wants. If all good citizens would get acquainted with the machinery of the local governments, we should not have nearly the trouble in public affairs that we have now, and the work of our local communities would be done very much more thoroughly and efficiently.

49. Systems of Local Government. — The historian John Fiske thought it a merit of the American government "that

different states adopted different methods of attempting . . . good government." Certainly the methods are different, though it is still to be decided whether that is a merit or not. Each state is divided into districts almost everywhere known as *counties*, though in Louisiana they call these districts *parishes*; but that is about the extent of the features of local government which they have in common.

The most common name to apply to the subdivisions of the county is that of *town* or *township*. When the community becomes more thickly settled, it may receive a more thorough form of government and be called a *village*, *borough*, or *city*. In most states these local communities continue to be a part of the county, although St. Louis, Baltimore, and several cities in Virginia have no connection with any county government.

What form of local government prevails in your state? Is there any reason why this system should exist there?

You have probably learned that when the early colonists came to New England there were many reasons why they kept rather close together in towns or villages. In the southern colonies the kind of farming carried on was such as to cause the people to spread widely over large areas, so that it was impossible for them to keep together in towns.

New England, therefore, produced a kind of local government where the town was the center of every interest, and when the New England states organized counties it was done as a mere matter of convenience for holding courts or some such purpose. In the South, on the contrary, the county government attended to every want of local communities, and town government of the New England type was unknown. Such subdivisions as do exist in some of these states are called *precincts* or *hundreds*.

As we might expect, the middle Atlantic colonies found their needs to be partly like and partly unlike both New England and the South. They naturally produced a mixed

system which had a place for both the township and the county. New York, being nearer to New England, made the town more important than did Pennsylvania.

These three systems, the town system, the county system, and the mixed or county-township system, are all in use to-day. When the New England people went west they took their ideas of government along with them; and so we find in states like Michigan or Wisconsin a form of local



WHERE SOME OF A MARYLAND COUNTY'S MONEY WENT.

government with many features patterned on New England or New York. Pennsylvania's county-township system has been used as a pattern by such states west of her as Ohio, Indiana, and Kansas.

The pioneers who crossed the Alleghenies from Virginia and the Carolinas were used to the county system, and established it in the regions which they settled. The states which use the county system have smaller counties and more of them. Sometimes a state like Illinois, which was

settled by people from both the northern and southern Atlantic states, has allowed a county to choose for itself whether or not it will be subdivided into townships.

50. Forming and Administering Counties. — In many states the legislature has power to create new counties, but some state constitutions demand that a county cover a specified area, and contain at least a certain number of people. Sometimes the voters of the county make the decision when it is proposed to divide a county into two or more.

Almost everywhere the administration of justice is based largely on the county. There is a court-house in each county, which serves as a place to hold courts and to furnish headquarters for the county officers, and almost every county has a jail in which to keep criminals. Counties have the right to acquire property for these purposes and to put up such buildings as may seem desirable.

As the county court-house is the "seat of justice" for the county, the place where it is located has come to be called the county seat. Usually a central location in the county is chosen for the court-house. On that account we sometimes find to-day that the county seat is no longer the most important place in the county, because railroads or other industrial changes have brought greater prominence to some less central place.

What is the county seat of your county? How did that place acquire that honor? Is it the best place in the county for such a purpose? Have you visited your court-house? What kind of building is it?

51. County Officers. — In most states there is a long list of officers elected in each county — so many, in fact, that a voter cannot possibly vote for all of them intelligently. There are not many cases of real business organization in the government of our counties. In many states the most important county officials are called *county commissioners*. They have general oversight of the county business, fix the rate for the county tax, and in many cases are responsible

for keeping up the highways. In New York, Michigan, and some other states, a board of *supervisors* composed of one member from each township in the county performs these duties. The *sheriff* is to keep order in the county. The *treasurer* handles the county's money. The *controller* or *auditors* inspect the accounts of other county officers.



THE COURT-HOUSE, WARREN, OHIO.

The busses are engaged in interurban travel with other Ohio towns.

One or more officers keep the records of court proceedings, and record the deeds, wills, or other legal papers, that concern the ownership of property. The *district attorney*, or *state's attorney*, prosecutes persons accused of crime. Most counties have a *superintendent of schools*, and in many states there are *directors of the poor* in each county.

We shall leave any detailed account of the duties of these and other county officers for you to learn as you study your own state.

52. The Town or Township. — The oldest and simplest of all forms of local government is the *town* or *township*. The idea of it was brought over from England, but, as we have noted, it took different forms when transplanted to the New World. It is hard to state in general terms just how much of public business is handled by the township, or what is the relation of the township to the county.

Where the New England idea prevails, the county has little authority over the town, but in other states the township is thought of as simply a convenient division of the county. In some states the legislature alone can form new townships. In others this is done through the county courts or other county officers.

When the public lands were surveyed in what are now our middle western states, they were divided, in accordance with the laws of Congress, into "townships" six miles square, each containing 36 "sections." This was first done as a matter of convenience in mapping and selling or giving away the public land, but it proved to offer equal convenience in managing schools, roads, and the like, after people began to settle.

As a result, complete local governments were formed on the basis of the so-called Congressional township. The equal size and regular shape of such townships are in marked contrast with the angles and inequalities that you see when you look at a town map of a New England state.

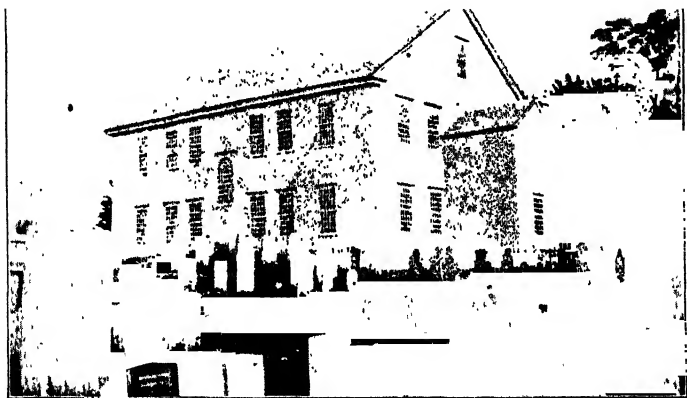
If you can secure copies of deeds to land from states which are divided into Congressional townships and those that are not so divided, notice how the location of the land is described. Are there any disadvantages in the Congressional township idea?

53. The New England Town. — The word "town" in New England refers to a political organization rather than a group of people. It means somewhat the same as "township" in other states. A New England "town" may contain three or four villages within its limits.

The great distinguishing feature of the New England system of government is the town meeting. This is regularly

held in the spring, though special meetings may be held at other times. All the voters have the right to attend the town meeting, elect town officers, and take part in discussions of town affairs. The town meetings act on almost every conceivable thing, from fixing the tax rate or putting up a new school building to selling a worn-out road scraper or appropriating money for band concerts.

Nothing exactly like this exists in any other part of the world, and no better training in democracy was ever afforded



THE OLD MEETING-HOUSE.

This church, in Rockingham, Vermont, was formerly used as both a church and a town hall. Many an old church had a cemetery as a part of the church property.

anywhere. Large communities cannot easily permit this freedom, but its simplicity and relative inexpensiveness make the people hesitate about giving it up. Brookline, a suburb of Boston, one of the richest communities in the world in proportion to population, has 40,000 population, but is still a "town."

Town officers are very numerous, but are never paid high salaries. The most important are the *selectmen*. There are usually three of them. During the interval between town

meetings they represent the town and act in its name whenever it may be necessary. The *assessors* or *listers* put a valuation on all the taxable property in the town. The *constables* are the police officers. The *justices of the peace* perform various legal ceremonies and hold court in small cases. The *auditors*, *road commissioners*, *school directors*, and all the rest, down to the *fence viewers* and *pound keepers*, have duties of greater or less importance.

Short terms for officers prevail throughout New England, and one year is the extent of term for which most of the officials are elected. Where there are three of a kind, such as selectmen, listers, or school directors, one may be chosen each year for a three-year term.

54. The Township in Other States. — The New York town has a *supervisor* whose duties are similar to those of the New England selectmen. The Pennsylvania township has *supervisors* whose chief interest is the care of the roads. Almost everywhere we find a *treasurer*, an *assessor*, *auditors*, *justices of the peace*, *constables*, *overseers of the poor*, a *collector of taxes*, and *school directors*.

Outside of New England the town meeting has largely or wholly disappeared, except for the holding of elections. The voters of a township elect its officers but have no direct part in the conduct of township business. In this system of government no particular attempt is made to distinguish between legislative and executive powers. Several of the township officers may be called on to exercise both. A longer term than in New England for township officers is the rule in states which have the mixed system.

What form of town or township government do you like best? Do you think the New England system would work well in other states?

55. Boroughs and Incorporated Villages. — It often happens that within a township a community of some size will grow up. The people of this community may want better

schools, paved streets, improved street lighting, or fire protection, which would be expensive if extended throughout the township. At the same time they may not have enough people to form a city government or care to assume the expense that often goes with it.

Some of the states have made special provision for this class of communities by organizing *boroughs* or incorporated *villages*. The method of formation varies with each state, but the approval of the majority of voters or property-owners is commonly required. In Pennsylvania and Minnesota a borough becomes wholly independent of the township of which it may have formed a part.

In some of the other states the borough or village may be organized to meet only certain special needs, such as street lighting, or fire protection, and for other purposes may continue as before to be simply a part of the township. This is the plan in such states as Connecticut and Vermont.

The borough or village elects a small body known as the *council* or *board of trustees*, who become the lawmakers for their government. The Pennsylvania borough has also a chief executive known as the *chief burgess*. The other officers are about the same as in the township. The formation of this kind of government is often a step toward city government, but some communities wait a long time before they reach that condition.

. . . In the United States there are several characteristic types of local government, each more or less adapted to the ideals and needs of different sections. A honest, active interest in our local affairs is needed to make any of these systems do the most for the communities which have inherited or adopted them.

QUESTIONS

Why are local governments necessary? How do their duties correspond with those of the state or national governments in connection with things that concern everyday life? Are local governments always well handled? Why?

What is a county? Why is it formed? Who forms it? What

are the subdivisions of a county? (Be sure you understand how things are in your state.)

Distinguish the systems of local government which developed in colonial times. Which of these prevails in your state? How does their effect appear in other sections of the country? How and why did this come about?

How many counties in your state? Can you make any general statement about their size and form? Which are largest and smallest in area and population? How does your county compare with the rest? What is the county seat of your county? Why was that place chosen?

What are the duties of *county commissioners*? Of what is the *county board* composed under the New York plan? Name five other officers that are found in county governments almost everywhere.

What relation does the town or township government bear to its people? Explain the relation of the township to the other agencies of government? What is a *Congressional township*?

Define *town* as the word is used in New England. Describe the town meeting and show its political significance. Mention the principal town officers and state their chief duties.

Point out the difference between the Middle States township and the New England town. Which form of local government do you like better?

Why are boroughs and incorporated villages formed? What is their connection with other governmental agencies? How are they governed?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Most of the special work done in connection with this chapter should consist of a definite and thorough study of the pupil's own county and of the subdivision of it in which he lives. Let him make a good map of the county, showing its subdivisions. He should be familiar with its natural, industrial, and other special features. The particular type of county government which prevails in his state, the offices of his country government, and the persons who hold the important positions, should all be studied. Some one might sketch the history of the county.

Since we have studied the elements of community welfare with considerable thoroughness, the main need now is to put together a connected outline of the machinery of local government and make some comparison with other forms. The New England town meet-

ing will repay some study, no matter what system may be locally in vogue. If you have the town meeting, by all means let the class conduct a session or two themselves and visit one if possible.

A Visit to the Borough Council, Town Meeting, or Village Board.

Resolved, that the New England town system should be introduced in communities of less than 5,000 people.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Beard : American Citizenship, Chapters 11, 17.

Magruder : American Government, pp. 301-329.

Reed : Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 17, 18.

Porter : American Local Government.

CHAPTER IX

CITIES AND THEIR SPECIAL NEEDS

Every person is responsible for all the good within the scope of his abilities, and for no more, and none can tell whose sphere is the largest. — Hamilton.

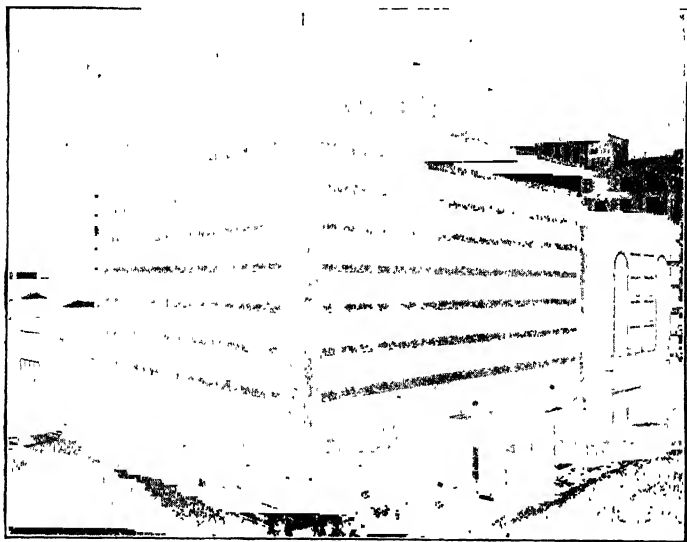
Cities are steadily becoming more important in our nation's life. Shall we think of them as huge impersonal machines which run on and on automatically, or are they made of living human beings? Why do we have cities? Are their governments always business-like? What are the particular problems of cities?

56. How and Why Cities Have Grown. — The growth of cities is one of the most remarkable features in the development of American life. In 1790 only 3.4 per cent of the people of the United States were urban — that is, lived in cities. To-day fully 51 per cent live in communities large enough to have been called cities 100 years ago. One hundred years ago no place in the country had 100,000 people. In 1920 sixty-eight cities had more than that number.

Cities themselves are not new, of course. Babylon, Alexandria, Athens, and Rome were cities of ancient times which mightily influenced the course of history. Neither is their growth limited to the United States. London, Berlin, Tokio, Buenos Aires, are cities that have grown almost as rapidly as the great cities of the United States. But it is remarkable for a country that was once agricultural to the extent that we were, to produce so many great cities in so short a time. New York with its suburbs is now the greatest center of population in the world, and the five larg-

est cities of the United States contain more than one-tenth of the population of the country.

Numerous causes, working together, have contributed to this marvelous city growth. The development of the factory system of industry has drawn thousands of people together in a small space. The increased use of machinery has made it possible for many more people to find work in



IN OKLAHOMA CITY.

Some of our relatively new cities have fine and imposing business buildings.

the city and fewer to be needed on the farm. Railroads have helped to build up great centers of trade and commerce. The idea that city life is pleasanter and offers more opportunities for advancement than the country or the small town has enticed many into the whirl of the city life, only to find that after all they are simply lost in the crowd.

Is your city growing? Why or why not? In what kind of community would you like best to live?

The following table shows the growth of the 25 cities which in 1920 were the most populous in the United States. Study it, and see if you can explain, from your knowledge of geography or any other source of information, why some have grown so much more rapidly than others.

| CITY | 1920 | 1910 | 1890 | 1870 | 1850 | 1830 |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|---------|
| New York | 5,620,048 | 4,766,883 | 2,507,414 | 1,478,103 | 696,115 | 242,278 |
| Chicago | 2,701,705 | 2,185,283 | 1,099,850 | 298,977 | 29,963 | — |
| Philadelphia | 1,823,779 | 1,549,008 | 1,046,964 | 674,022 | 408,462 | 188,797 |
| Detroit | 993,678 | 465,766 | 205,876 | 79,577 | 21,019 | 2,222 |
| Cleveland | 796,841 | 560,663 | 261,353 | 92,829 | 17,034 | 1,076 |
| St. Louis | 772,897 | 687,029 | 451,770 | 310,864 | 77,860 | 4,977 |
| Boston | 748,060 | 670,585 | 448,477 | 250,526 | 136,881 | 61,392 |
| Baltimore | 733,826 | 558,485 | 434,439 | 267,354 | 169,054 | 80,620 |
| Pittsburgh | 588,343 | 533,905 | 343,904 | 139,256 | 67,863 | 15,369 |
| Los Angeles | 576,673 | 319,198 | 50,395 | 5,728 | 1,610 | — |
| Buffalo | 506,775 | 423,715 | 255,664 | 117,714 | 42,261 | 8,668 |
| San Francisco | 506,676 | 416,912 | 298,997 | 149,473 | 34,776 | — |
| Milwaukee | 457,147 | 373,857 | 204,468 | 71,440 | 20,061 | — |
| Washington | 437,571 | 331,069 | 230,392 | 109,199 | 40,001 | 18,826 |
| Newark | 414,524 | 347,469 | 181,830 | 105,059 | 38,894 | 10,953 |
| Cincinnati | 401,247 | 363,591 | 296,908 | 216,239 | 115,435 | 24,831 |
| New Orleans | 387,219 | 339,075 | 242,039 | 191,418 | 116,375 | 46,082 |
| Minneapolis | 380,582 | 301,408 | 164,738 | 13,066 | — | — |
| Kansas City | 324,410 | 248,381 | 132,716 | 32,260 | 600 | — |
| Seattle | 315,312 | 237,194 | 42,837 | 1,107 | — | — |
| Indianapolis | 314,194 | 233,650 | 105,436 | 48,244 | 8,091 | 1,085 |
| Jersey City | 298,103 | 267,779 | 163,003 | 82,546 | 6,856 | — |
| Rochester | 295,750 | 218,149 | 133,896 | 62,386 | 36,403 | 9,207 |
| Portland | 258,288 | 207,214 | 46,385 | 8,293 | 821 | — |
| Denver | 256,491 | 213,381 | 106,713 | 4,759 | — | — |

From the growth of these cities between one date and the next, can you infer anything with reference to the movement of the people from one section of the country to another, or to changes in industry within the country?

57. Services of the City.—The services performed by the city government are almost innumerable. The construction and care of streets, prevention and punishment of crime,

protection of life and property, promotion of education and culture, care of the public health and of the poor and unfortunate — these and many other necessary services are performed, wholly or in part, by the city. Most cities also furnish their people's water supply. Many supply their own light for streets and other public places. Some own or at least have something to say about the management of street railways, docks, and other public utilities.

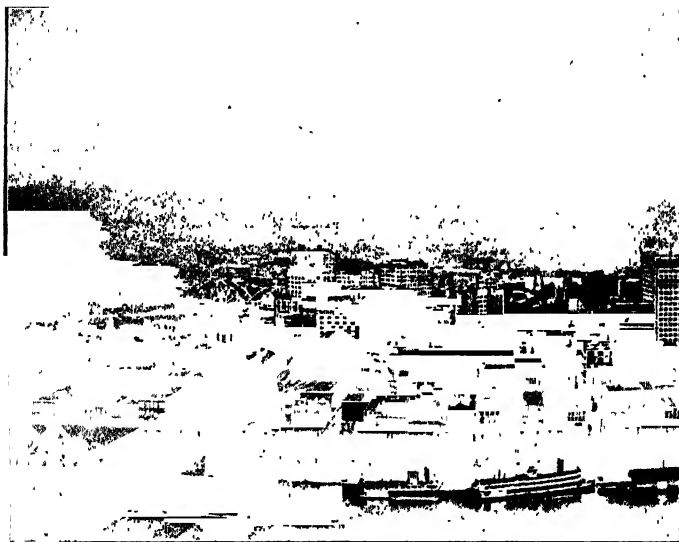
Perhaps you ask, do not many communities which have not become cities give the same kind of service to their people? Yes, they do, but the large city is so thickly settled that to carry on its affairs calls for a much more complicated system of administering its government than that of the small community. The farmer may raise a large part of the food he needs. How many can do that in the city? In the small community every one knows as many of his neighbors as he wishes. In the city a person may not even know the fellow who lives up-stairs. The city resident is to a very much greater degree dependent upon what his government will do for him, than the resident of a farm or small town.

Most cities, besides, provide various little courtesies and conveniences which add much to the pleasure and profit of city life, but which could not by any stretch of the imagination be considered necessary. Public baths, free band concerts, organ recitals, museums, and the like, illustrate activities of city governments which ought to mean even more than they do to the average city resident.

58. The Formation of Cities. — Before we go any further, we may do well to understand what a *city* is; in the political sense it is a community governed under a charter which gives it power to manage its own affairs. A city is usually a thickly settled community. Most of such communities have become cities, but on the other hand in some states dozens of "one-horse towns" call themselves cities, and have a mayor and other city officers like a real city.

The number of people required to form a city varies widely in states. Some states have no definite requirements. Others insist upon a specified population—10,000, for example. It is common for states to group their cities in classes, in accordance with their population.

The charter of the city corresponds to the constitution in the national or state government. In some states the legis-



THE WATER-FRONT AND

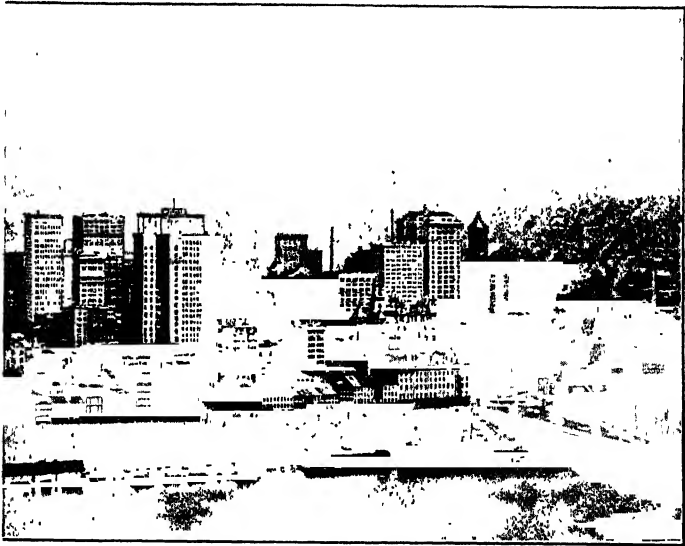
lature passes a special law for the purpose every time a city is chartered, but in others there are general laws which all cities of a certain size must observe in the process of adopting city government.

In most states the city is a part of the county to which it belongs, but its only real superior is, after all, the state government itself; for the legislature has power to alter completely the city's government. Many honest supporters of reform in city government advocate "home rule" for

cities. They believe that each city should have the right to frame its own charter and work out the details of its government to suit its own needs.

What is the law of your state concerning the formation of cities?

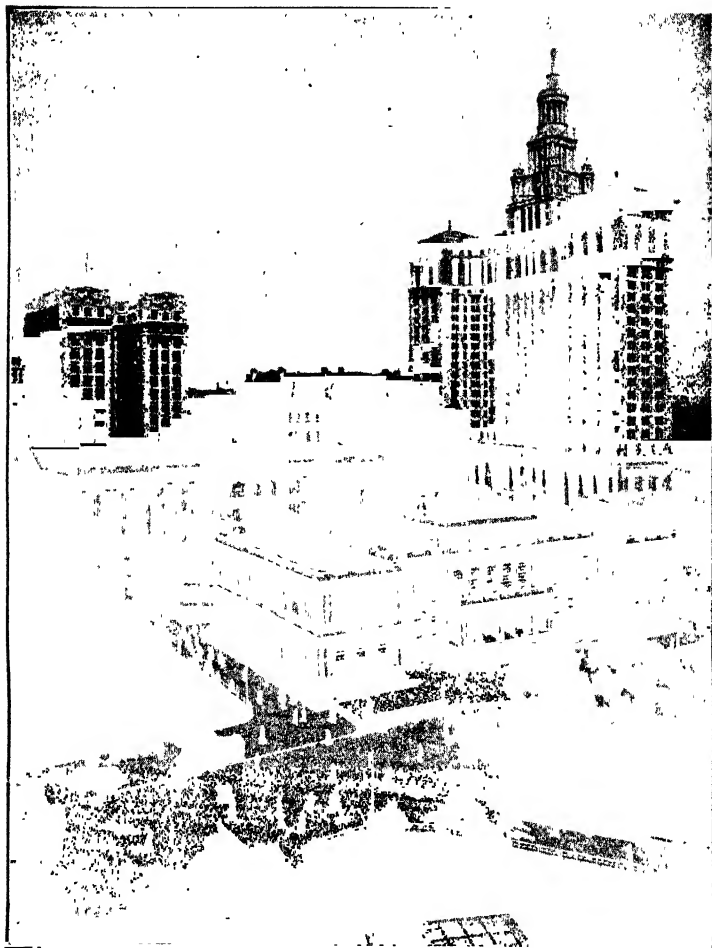
59. City Officials.—Most cities have a *mayor*, who is the executive head of the city government. In addition to



BUSINESS SECTION OF PITTSBURGH.

enforcing the ordinances of the city, he generally has the right to appoint many city officials, and to sign or veto all ordinances of the city councils. His salary varies from almost nothing in the smaller cities to \$15,000 in New York.

The lawmaking part of the city government may be in either one or two houses. If there is only one, it is called the *council*. If there are two bodies, the smaller is called the *aldermen* or *select council*, and the larger the *common council*. The term of office of both mayor and council



NEW YORK CITY: OLD CITY HALL AND NEW MUNICIPAL BUILDING.

varies with the city or state. It may be either one, two, or four years.

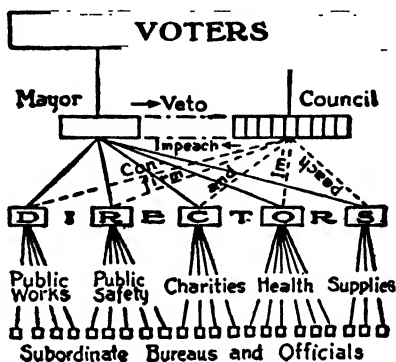
Whether power shall be divided evenly between mayor and council, so that one may serve as a check on the other, or

whether almost all power of administration should be placed in the mayor's hands, so that he may be held responsible for the government of the city, is a question over which the practice of cities has not been uniform. The tendency of the present time is toward centralization of power in the mayor. It is the rule, however, that his appointments must be confirmed by the council, and that a two-thirds vote of the law-making branch may pass an ordinance over his veto.

Very many administrative officials are needed in a large city, and these are commonly grouped into a few great departments. Every city must have, under some name or other, a department of *public works* to look after highways, sewers, water supply, and the like; a department of *public safety* controlling police-

men, firemen, building inspectors, and similar officers; a department of *health*; and perhaps a department of *charities* and other departments to meet the peculiar needs of the city. A *treasurer*, a *controller*, a *city solicitor* or *attorney*, and others may also be found. Every city has its *school board* or *board of education*, which in many states is allowed to manage its affairs independently of the other administrative departments.

In many states the judicial branch of the city government is relatively less important than the others, for most crimes and lawsuits will be taken up directly by the county courts or lowest grade of the state court system. But there are always



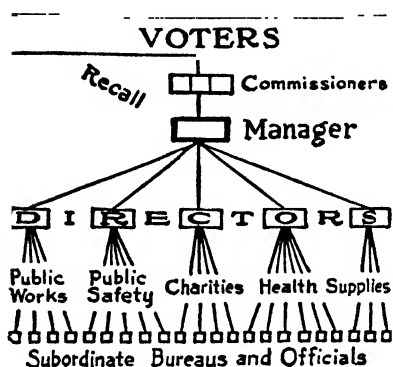
COMMON TYPE OF CITY GOVERNMENT.

Notice the division of authority. Mayor and Council are so "checked and balanced" that it is hard to tell who is responsible for anything.

police judges or magistrates who have authority over small cases, especially violations of city ordinances, and who give hearings to persons accused of graver crimes, just as a justice of the peace does in the township.

If you live in a city, outline thoroughly its frame of government. How many of its officials are you personally acquainted with or do you know by sight? Why is the position of police magistrate sometimes filled by unfit men? Find out if your father knew all the men for whom he voted in the last local election. What were the leading issues in that election?

60. Special Plans of City Government. — Dissatisfied with the ordinary type of government, many cities have tried



THE CITY MANAGER PLAN.

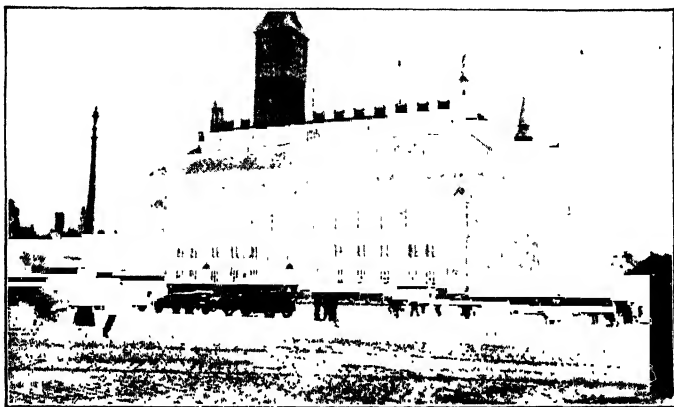
Observe the simplicity of it and its centralization of responsibility.

something new in the hope of getting more efficiency and honesty of administration. A plan which is now in operation in about 500 places in the country is called the *commission* form of government. A small body, often five in number, is elected by the voters as a commission who will both make the laws and administer them.

The commission makes the ordinances needed for the city. Each member of it is the head of a department. One of them may be called the mayor, but his power is little greater than that of the others. The theory is that this small commission will feel special responsibility for doing its work well, and by operating all branches of the government in harmony, waste and confusion will be almost wholly avoided.

In the *city manager* plan, which is much like the system in vogue in many well-governed European cities, centraliza-

tion is carried still further. One man is chosen by the council or commission to assume entire charge of the administration of the city's affairs and he is given whatever power is necessary to enable him to get results. Dayton and Cleveland, Ohio, and many other places have adopted this plan. Thus far it must be considered in the light of an experiment in this country, but it seems to have worked well almost everywhere that it has been tried.



THE TOWN HALL IN COPENHAGEN.

This beautiful building was constructed at a cost of about one-sixth of what an American city would have spent on a similar city hall.

61. Special Problems of City Life. — The wonderful growth of cities has often taken place so suddenly and quietly that men have been surprised and shocked when some great problem seemed to burst upon them all at once. The packing together in small compass of thousands of people and millions of dollars of wealth would alone give rise to many difficulties. Add to this the coming of millions of foreigners, ignorant of American life and ideals, most of whom herd in the cities, and the situation is tenfold worse.

National political issues have attracted the attention of voters much more than local questions, except when the taxes

rose beyond endurance. In some cities graft, bribery, and all the other evils of rotten politics have had their way almost without hindrance for years together.

"The government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." So runs a familiar quotation from the Hon. James Bryce. We have tried to govern them by the same means which we used for the agricultural districts in the old states and found only too late that other methods were needed. We have borrowed money by the millions and spent it on public works constructed by contractors who "stood in" with the politicians who ran the city, and we have learned after it was all spent that we should have to pay interest on it for two or three generations.

Only as the best citizens are willing to sacrifice a little time and energy to help keep city government in the hands of honest and competent officials can we hope to find relief from these ills. Happily the situation seems brighter than ever now, and there is reason to hope that the worst of our cities' shame is past.

. . . With all the advantages of city life of which city people sometimes boast, they have still much to learn about making their government good and effective. A large city with all sorts and conditions of people in it has problems which call for the best and most thoughtful consideration on the part of every citizen.

QUESTIONS

Compare the growth of the cities to-day with those of a century ago. What are the chief reasons for this growth? How does your city account for its growth or the lack of it? What are some of the causes for the difference between their government and that of other districts?

What is a *city*? Explain its frame of government. What is meant by home rule for cities? Do you believe in it? Make an outline or diagram of the government of your own city. What are the duties of its chief officials?

Why have serious evils arisen in the conduct of city government? How are these evils illustrated by the police courts and the public works? What is the best remedy for such conditions?

Describe the commission plan of city government; the city manager plan. What is your opinion of them? Would you like either of them in your own community better than what you have?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Resolved, that the city manager plan of government is the best yet suggested.

Resolved, that our community should adopt (or retain) the commission-manager form of government.

The Personality of American Cities (see Hungerford's book by that title).

How Our Own City Is Governed.

City Politics.

A study of the most important characteristics of the development of the large cities given in the table on page 136, or of communities of special interest of some kind, such as Brockton, Bridgeport, Atlantic City, Birmingham, Tampa, Denver, Salt Lake City, Fairbanks, and the like, would be profitable.

The Best Plan of Government for My City.

Is American City Government a Failure?

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Lessons in Community and National Life, B-19.

Beard: American Citizenship, Chapters 10, 16.

Magruder: American Government, pp. 330-351.

Reed: Forms and Functions of American Government, Chapters 15, 16.

Beard: American City Government, Chapter 4.

Publications of National Municipal League.

Bryce: American Commonwealth, Chapters 50, 51.

CHAPTER X

GETTING MONEY FOR OUR GOVERNMENT

*It is not the individual
Or the army as a whole,
But the everlasting teamwork
Of every blooming soul. — Knox.*

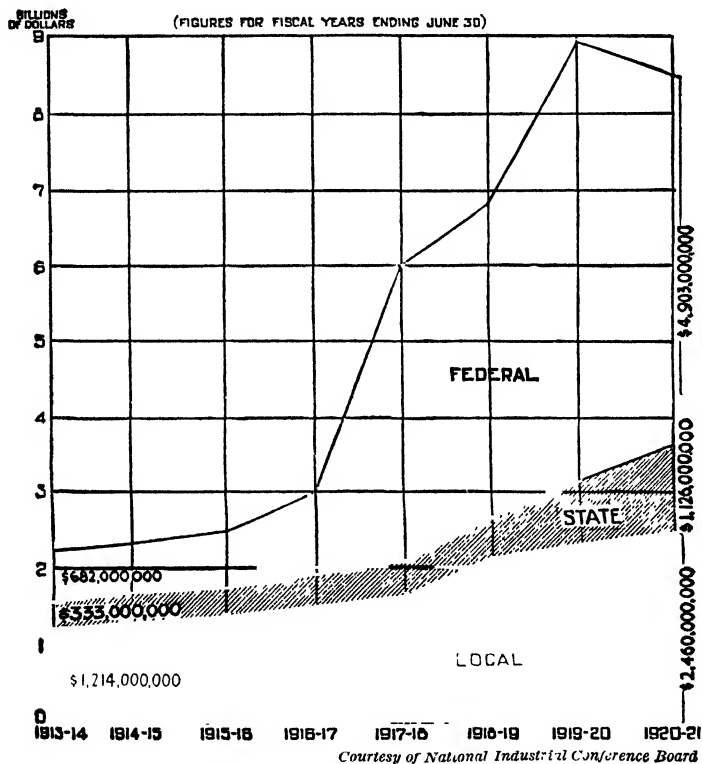
Government cannot be supported on interest and service alone. Money is necessary for its success. How do governments obtain financial backing? What right have they to collect it? Are their methods just?

62. Why Our Governments Need Money.—Government is a business, not a charity. No business can be carried on without spending money, and in business when money is spent we expect to get something in return. Three great services which governments perform and which justify the collection of revenue may be called protective, industrial, and social. Their protective functions include the defense of the nation against foreign enemies, and the suppression of disorder and the safeguarding of life and property within their borders. The first of these must be done almost wholly by the national government; the other is distributed among national, state, and local governments.

Industrial functions include the encouragement of industry and the promotion of proper conditions in its operation; the construction of roads, canals, bridges, and the improvement of rivers and harbors; and the supervision of the relations of workers in industry to each other. Since the Constitution gives the national government entire control of interstate and foreign commerce, a considerable part of these functions

Why Our Governments Need Money 145

must be performed by the national government, but a very great deal remains for the states, as well as much for cities and counties.



HOW TAXATION GREW IN A FEW YEARS.

Explain why this increase has taken place. Why was the relative increase so much greater in state and federal taxes?

The social functions relate to the relief and improvement of the people. The care of the poor, the sick, the insane, and the unfortunate, the prevention of poverty and disease, the education of all the people, the maintenance of libraries and museums, and the promotion of learning in any form, are

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embraced within this group. Comparatively little of this can be done by the national government as our Constitution now stands. The great bulk of it rests upon the local communities, with more or less assistance from the states.

Before the Great War, of all the money spent for the administration of government in the United States the national government was spending a little over one-third, the state governments about one-tenth, and the various local governments the rest — nearly three-fifths. The debt of New York City alone was in 1916 greater than that of the national government. Leave out the war expenses of the national government and you will see how little relatively the state and national governments spend for the ordinary needs of the people.

63. Sources of Government Revenue. — To meet these expenses several general sources of income may be drawn upon.

(1) *Sale and gift.* The sale of public lands has been a source of more revenue than it is ever likely to be again, but local governments seldom obtained much that way at any time. The income from public industries like water works may help a little, but these seldom make much profit. Gifts from public-spirited citizens are made occasionally, but none of these sources of revenue can be depended upon very extensively.

(2) *Taxes.* A *tax* is a forced payment collected from one's income or property. Taxes of one form or another must always be the main source of a government's income.

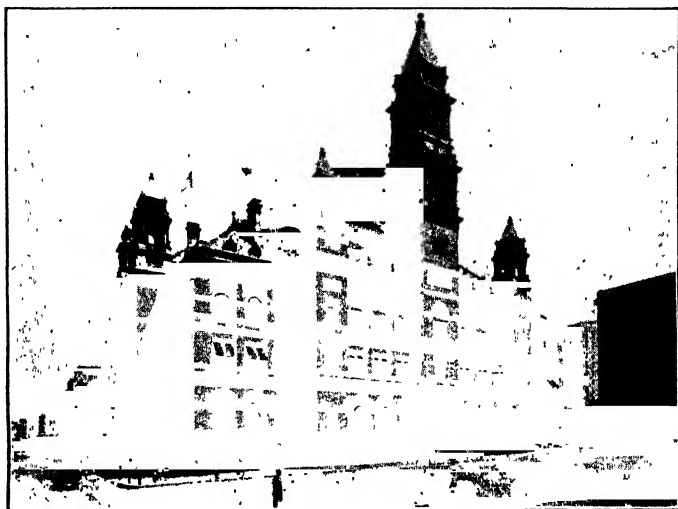
(3) *Fees* for licenses and other special services, and *fines* for violations of law, are other forms of forced payment.

(4) *Special assessments* are often levied against the property owners who will be directly benefited when a special piece of improvement is done, like laying out a new street, thus making them pay at least a part of the cost.

When a city operates its water system or lighting plant, a separate charge is usually made to the owner or occupant of

a building, but as the intention usually is to run these plants at about cost, it will not affect materially the rest of the community's expenses for government.

(5) *Loans.* Borrowing money is an expedient for any except a hopelessly bankrupt government. It is too often a refuge from incompetent and dishonest management, and a cowardly shifting to others of burdens which ought to be met at once. The payment of interest over a long period of



THE BALTIMORE CITY POST OFFICE.

years will much more than eat up the original cost. Such a method is justified only when a sudden emergency has arisen or when an improvement is undertaken which will be of positive benefit to the people for years to come. Government borrowing is most often done by selling bonds (§ 152).

(6) *Eminent domain.* Another way by which a government may get property which it needs is by the exercise of the right of eminent domain. This power is possessed by every governmental organization, city, county, state, or

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national. Sometimes it is granted to private corporations under certain restrictions. Under this power the government may take, even against the owner's wishes, property which is felt to be necessary for some public use, like laying out a street or putting up a school building. If this were not possible, selfish individuals might prevent the accomplishment of some exceedingly desirable enterprise simply because their selfish whims or comfort might be interfered with. The government, however, pays the owner of the property what it deems to be a just price for whatever it takes. If there is any disagreement about its valuation, a special board of viewers will investigate the matter and then the former owner must accept the amount that is decided upon.

Make out a table in which you show the principal items of expense and leading sources of income of the last normal year for which you can get figures, for your county or other local government.

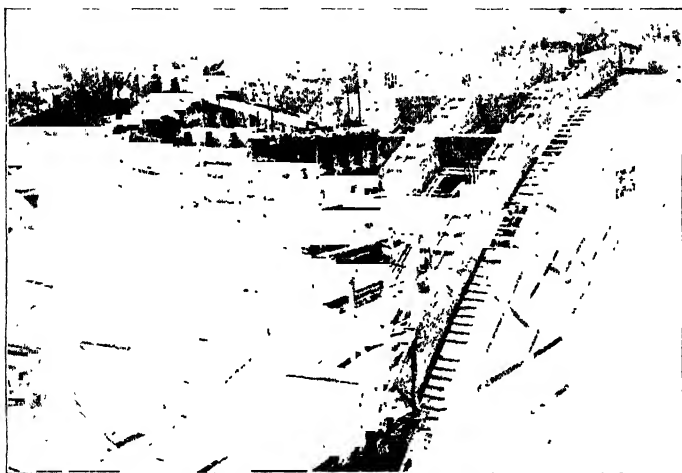
64. Taxes, Good and Otherwise. — One of the easiest ways to get Americans stirred up is to levy a new tax. In a sense this is not surprising. The right to have private property is one of the fundamental rights of an American citizen. A tax is nothing else than taking a part of one's private property and using it for public purposes.

But the government does not take it without giving something for it. It gives protection to every person's life and possessions. It is only fair that those who are protected should give something to the state in return.

What should be the principle on which taxes are levied? At first thought we might say, "In accordance with the benefits received from the government." But when you come to think of it, a great many people with almost no property at all receive countless benefits from the state. While this principle should not be disregarded, it is evident that it will not meet the needs of the state. Regularly, then, a person's ability to pay is made the basis of consideration. The person with large wealth will not miss the comparatively

small sum taken as taxes. Besides, the more property he has, the more the government must protect.

Certain other conditions every taxpayer, rich or poor, has a right to ask. The money received should be used for the benefit of all, not for a favored few. No distinction should be made between individuals, but all persons or property in the same class or condition should be taxed alike. The tax should be levied in a public way and the time and manner



A NEW BRIDGE UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

of assessing and collecting it should be known to everybody. It should be easy to collect and should cause no unnecessary inconvenience in payment.

Can you judge the progressiveness and sound management of a community by the amount of its tax rate?

We commonly divide all taxes into two great groups — direct and indirect. *Direct* taxes are those whose burden is intended to be borne by the person from whom they are collected and not to be shifted to some one else. Taxes on buildings, land, incomes, inheritances, and the like, are direct.

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Most of the taxes levied by city, town, or county governments are of this kind.

Indirect taxes are those whose burden is likely to be borne by other persons than those from whom the government collects them. A tax on imported goods, for example, is really paid by the person who uses them, for the importer adds the tax to the price he charges for them, and it does not come out of his pocket. This kind of tax is usually more popular than the other, for people pay it without knowing it.

After all, it is the community as a whole that pays every tax. High taxes mean high rents, high prices for goods, and other expedients for getting the money out of the public. Our main problem, therefore, is to invent a tax system which shall make every one pay his fair share. The exact form of the tax is not so important.

When a tax is collected on a fixed percentage basis, regardless of the total value of the property, it is called a *proportional* tax. If the percentage rate increases in accordance with the value of the property, it is a *progressive* or *graduated* tax. Those who lay great stress on the idea that a tax should be in proportion to one's ability to pay believe strongly in the progressive tax.

Excises are taxes on goods produced or sold within a country. They are often called *internal revenue*. The taxes on manufacturers or dealers in liquor and tobacco are examples of these. *Customs*, *duties*, or *imposts*, as we use the terms, are taxes on goods brought into the country. These are of two forms: *specific* duties, which lay a definite amount per unit of goods, as 10 cents per yard, dozen, or pound; and *ad valorem*, which collect a percentage of the value of the goods. In one way the latter are fairer, but the former are easier to collect and cheating is not so easy when they are used.

65. Assessing and Collecting Local Taxes. — In order to collect taxes on any sort of property the government must know how much each piece of property is worth. To find this out, local governments have officials known as *assessors* or *listers*. In some places each year, in other places every three years, they put a value on all the real estate in the community. In theory they should try to assess all property

at its real value, but in practice they often do not. Sometimes they deliberately put it as low as one-third of the probable worth of the property. If there is no limit on the tax rate, the amount of the assessment makes little difference, because the rate can be high enough to make up for a low valuation. But if a state constitution or law puts a limit on the tax rate, then a low assessment of property may prevent the community from raising what it needs for public purposes.

If you think your property is not fairly assessed, what can you do about it?

If a community attempts to tax personal property (§ 148), it has to depend at least in part upon statements made by the owners of such property themselves. The assessors can estimate rather accurately what a man's house and lot are worth, but they do not know what is in the attic or how many thousand dollars' worth of stocks or bonds the owner may have in a box in some bank. In some states the assessors have the right to estimate the possible amount of personal property owned by a tax payer and inform him that he must pay taxes on that amount or show to the proper authorities that he does not own so much personal property. Some people argue that since it is impossible to treat everybody with exact fairness in taxing personal property we should make no attempt to levy this sort of tax.

The method used to determine how much tax each property-owner shall pay is somewhat as follows :

By some means the authorities estimate how much money will be needed from the general property tax. By adding up the total taxable valuation of the community, and dividing the amount needed by the total valuation, a decimal is obtained which is the rate for all individual taxes. If the property valuation of a township is \$10,000,000, and the amount to be raised from the property tax is \$120,000, the quotient is .012. As it is commonly expressed, the rate

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in that community would be 12 mills on the dollar. A person whose property was valued at \$5000 would then have to pay \$60 in taxes to that community.

School taxes, county taxes, and state taxes are often levied by different bodies of men, and the rate of taxation will vary. But for convenience the school and other local taxes are usually paid to the same official, and state taxes are frequently collected through the county.

In many cases a discount is allowed if the tax is paid before a certain date, and a penalty added if not paid by a certain later date. If taxes are not paid on property within a reasonable time, the authorities have the right to order it sold at public sale. Whatever remains after the taxes and costs of the sale are taken out is given back to the former owner.

66. Budget-Making. — One would suppose that no argument would be needed to convince a community that careful planning for spending money should take place in advance. Certainly there is no more reason for wasting public funds than private savings, and no good reason for starting a year without having some idea of what the community's financial standing will be at the end. Yet until within a comparatively short time there was very little careful planning of any sort when it came to spending public money.

Now, however, budget-making has come to be the regular thing in well managed communities. A *budget* is simply a carefully planned estimate of the amount of money to be spent in a given period, usually a year, with provisions added, perhaps, in regard to methods of obtaining the money. Some official should be responsible for putting these estimates together and placing them before the law-making body in the government. Of course no taxes can be collected until the proper law-making body has authorized the collection. In cities the planning of the budget may be done by the mayor or by a special board composed of two or three prominent city officials. In some other places all that the mayor does is to gather the estimates from the heads of his different

departments and then turn them over to the city council and let them wrestle with the problem. The latter method is seldom as satisfactory as the former method. But in some form or other every community, large or small, should have a budget prepared at the proper time each year.

One of the things that need to be planned for in a budget is the paying of public debts. Sometimes it is done by having bonds issued in the first place in a series, so arranged that some of them become due each year. Then a certain amount of money received from taxes each year is set aside to pay off these bonds.

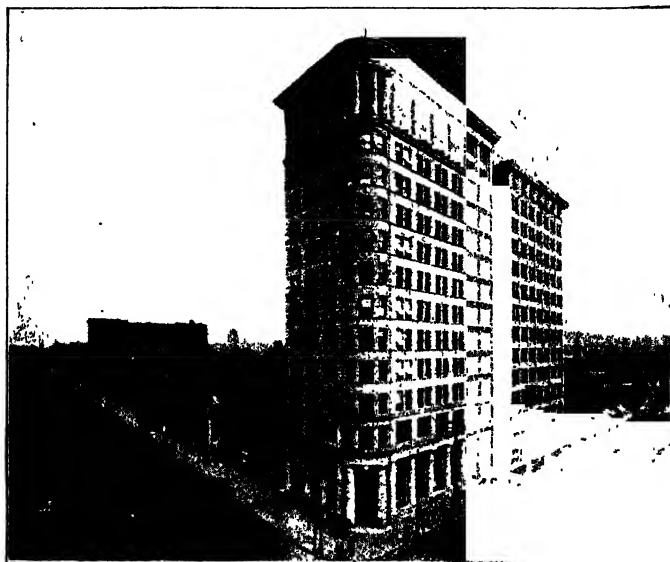
Another method is to set up what is called a *sinking fund*. To do this a certain amount is set apart each year out of the current revenues and put on interest. It is kept by itself and not allowed to be used for any other purpose. Then when the time comes for the debt to be paid off, the money that has been put into the sinking fund, with the interest which it has gained during the time, will meet the obligation, and the whole process will not have seemed a very great burden at any time. One or another of these means should be regularly employed in connection with public debts. We should be sure, too, that when we agree to borrow money for a public purpose the purpose is one that is worth going into debt for.

67. Proposed Changes in Tax Methods. — Probably no one is entirely satisfied with the present methods of raising money. It is much easier to find fault, however, with the present way of doing things than to suggest a better way. A good many objections have been offered to the general property tax, particularly if it includes a tax on personal property. But hardly anywhere have people found it feasible to get along without it. Every substitute that has been proposed appears to have some weakness of its own.

An instance of the proposed reforms is the so-called *single tax*. The foremost advocate of the idea in the United States was Henry George, who wrote a book called "Progress and

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Poverty," in which he proposed that nothing whatever should be taxed except the value of land. Land, he said, is the gift of nature, and when individuals occupy this land for their own use, they should pay the state for it, but should not be taxed for the buildings and other improvements which their own energy and labor brought into existence.



OFFICE BUILDINGS IN UNUSUAL SURROUNDINGS.

Does the single tax principle seem to have any bearing here?

Land speculators who bought land when it was cheap and held it unused until it became more valuable were in his opinion responsible for the crowding of people in the slums and the resulting disease, crime, and poverty. If unoccupied land were taxed so that it would not longer be profitable to hold it idle, the owners would build houses on it, the pressure on the crowded districts would be relieved, and everything would move on to happiness.

Many converts have been made to Henry George's doctrine and there is a pretty general feeling that land values have, to say the least, not contributed their share of taxes. But the question rises whether it is fair that the owners of land which costs nothing to protect should bear much of the burden of taxation, while the buildings which demand so many expenses for fire protection and other purposes should go wholly free. Moreover it is not proved to the satisfaction of all that the filling up of all unoccupied land with buildings would be a great improvement, or that the happiness and morality of any large number of people would be promoted by doing so.

It is unfortunate that the same sources of revenue are drawn upon by more than one agency of government. Some states have an income tax as well as the national government. Sometimes for various reasons the same property is taxed by more than one state.

It is quite possible that some forms of taxes are not commonly as high as in fairness they could be. Some people believe that inheritance taxes should be higher, except when the property is received by a near relative, on the ground that the receiver usually did nothing to earn the inheritance himself, but the government made it possible for this inheritance to be passed on. The thing we ought to be most concerned about is whether taxes are fairly distributed among the people who are able to pay them. Very few people pay more than they receive in the form of benefits and services that governments render to them.

. . . Governments get financial support for their needs in various ways. Taxes are the most common method of securing funds for public use. No one can justly complain against taxation if it is fairly collected and the money honestly and intelligently spent.

QUESTIONS

What great functions do governments perform which justify the collection of taxes? To what extent do national, state, and local

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governments perform each of these functions? How large a proportion of the whole cost of government in normal times is incurred by each of these agencies? What sources of income are drawn upon to meet these expenses? Which source supplies the most money? When is it good policy for a government to borrow money?

What is a *tax*? Has a citizen a right to try to avoid paying taxes? Has the government the right to take your property without paying for it? On what principles should the levying of taxes be based?

Explain *direct* and *indirect* taxes. Explain the following words used in connection with taxes: *proportional*, *progressive*, *graduated*, *excise*, *customs*, *duties*, *specific*, *ad valorem*.

What is a *budget*? How is budget-making done? Is the budget system in use in your state, county, or local community? If not, why not? By what methods are public debts paid off?

What do you think of the general property tax? Can you suggest any satisfactory substitute? What is meant by the *assessment* of property? How are the local tax rates determined in your community and how are the taxes collected? What is the *single tax*? How do Henry George's ideas impress you?

SPECIAL TOPICS

How Our Local Taxes Are Assessed and Collected.

How Our Governments Could Save Money.

Budget-making in Our Community.

Efforts That Have Been Made to Adopt the Single Tax in Our Community or State.

Resolved, that each state should levy an income tax for the purpose of helping to support public schools.

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Lessons in Community and National Life. B-22.

Reports of local treasurers and controllers or auditors.

PART II

THE WORK OF OUR STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS

CHAPTER XI

OUR OWN GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS

*All we have of freedom — all we use and know,
This our fathers bought for us, long, long ago. — Kipling.*

*Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can re-
nair; the rest is in the hands of God. — Washington.*

It is interesting to think that we live under the direction of a great authority which, though centered in our capital city of Washington, has voices that speak all over the nation. What are the main features of its organization? How does it compare with other national governments? By what principles does it guide its actions?

68. Terms We Need to Understand. — We have already pointed out the need of *government* (§ 6). That is what we call the combined activities of laws, customs, and officers, that are needed to carry on public business. In speaking about government there are some words and phrases that are very often used, and we should be sure that we understand what they mean.

The rules which are made either by the people or for them, to direct their actions, are called *laws*. The supreme and unlimited power to form and administer government is known as *sovereignty*. In countries like the United States, Great Britain, and France this power really rests with the people themselves, for all authority in making or administering laws is exercised by persons whom the people have chosen to represent them — that is, to act in their behalf.

Who are the people?

Most civilized countries are governed under a written *constitution* — that is, a fundamental law expressing the most vital facts about the form and powers of its government. The constitution is generally made more difficult to change than the ordinary law. Practically every political community in the United States has something of the kind and would feel lost without it. Great Britain, however, has none. The important laws, political documents, and customs which have been handed down from the past and form the background of its government serve as an unwritten constitution.

Which kind do you think is better for the United States? for Great Britain? for Russia? for France? for China?

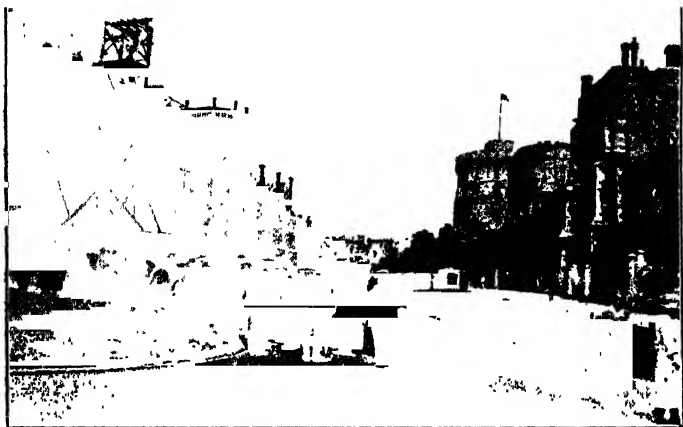
69. Forms of National Governments. — The governments of other countries differ more or less from our own and from each other. That may or may not be a cause for thanks on their part. Usually a people's form of government has just grown naturally out of their own needs. Several forms of government have therefore developed and still exist in the countries of to-day, and the same country may have had different forms at different times in its history. These are the most common types :

(1) A *monarchy* is a government in which sovereign power is exercised by one person or in the name of one person. If one person possesses all authority we call it an *absolute* monarchy. If his power is restricted by a constitution or by the choice of other officials by the people, we have a *limited* monarchy. No monarch to-day possesses fully absolute power such as the Czars of Russia, for example, once exercised. The difference now is simply in the extent to which his power is limited. England still has a King, but has reduced his power almost to zero, and is a monarchy only in name.

(2) An *oligarchy* is a government controlled by a small portion of the people. If this small portion is made up of

wealthy or noble families, we generally style it an *aristocracy*. Several governments still contain aristocratic elements, but no one is now wholly aristocratic.

(3) A pure *democracy* is a government in which all power is exercised directly by the people. It is next to impossible for this to be done except in small communities, but the spirit of democracy prevails in many republics and some



TOURISTS VISITING WINDSOR CASTLE.

This is a famous residence of the British royal family. At the time this picture was taken repairs were going on.

monarchies. All seem to be moving in that direction, though some go slowly.

(4) A *republic* is a government in which the sovereign power is in the hands of the people, but is exercised through officials whom they elect. The United States, France, and Switzerland are the most successful of existing republics. Some so-called republics hardly know what self-government and self-control mean.

But all republics are not organized alike, nor are all monarchies. In some of them almost all authority is centralized in the national government. The subdivisions of this cen-

tral organization are almost entirely for convenience in administration or for the election of officers. France is the best example of a centralized republic. Italy and Sweden are centralized monarchies.

Other governments have been formed by the bringing together, or federating, of smaller bodies. In such governments, some authority is entrusted to the central government and the rest is left in the hands of the parts or divisions which compose the nation. If the power of the central government is relatively weak, we call such a union a *confederation*. If the central government's powers are extensive and strong, we have a *federation*. The United States and Switzerland are republics which are federations; Germany also has been an example of the federal principle.

Find the meaning of *bureaucracy*; *autocracy*. Would one form of government be best for every country? What changes in the form of governments have occurred in recent years? How much ought people to know about their own government? Who would be most likely to favor keeping the people in ignorance?

70. The Government of the United States. — We call the United States a *federal republic*. It has a well-planned written constitution, which assigns certain important and far-reaching powers to the central government, but leaves many vital activities to be carried on by the governments of the divisions which make up the federation. These forty-eight divisions, some of which existed long before the Union was formed, are called *states*.

Each state has a constitution of its own, makes its own laws, and has its own courts, which must not, however, conflict with the laws and courts of the federal government. The states, as we have noticed, are divided into administrative divisions called *counties*, and the counties are composed of *cities*, *townships*, *boroughs*, or *villages*.

Get this governmental arrangement clearly in mind. Notice, too, that the state is not a federation as the national government is. The subdivisions of the state are created

by the state, and exercise only such authority as the state permits them to possess.

71. Making Our National Constitution. — At the close of the Revolution by which the independence of the United States was secured, the central government was conducted under the Articles of Confederation. These went into effect in 1781 after all the original thirteen states had accepted them. This confederation was so weak and inefficient that intelligent men such as Washington, Hamilton, and Franklin, saw that a stronger government must be established if the nation was to live.

So, at a memorable convention held in Philadelphia in 1787 our present national Constitution was drawn up. It contained very little that was wholly new. But its makers showed wonderful judgment in selecting good features from the English government and the constitutions and laws of the states. Guided by their own common sense, they combined these exceedingly skillfully. One would be foolish to imagine that our form of government is so nearly perfect that it cannot be improved, but nevertheless we can take just pride in the thought that the United States Constitution and government have served as worthy examples for other peoples who were struggling for better things.

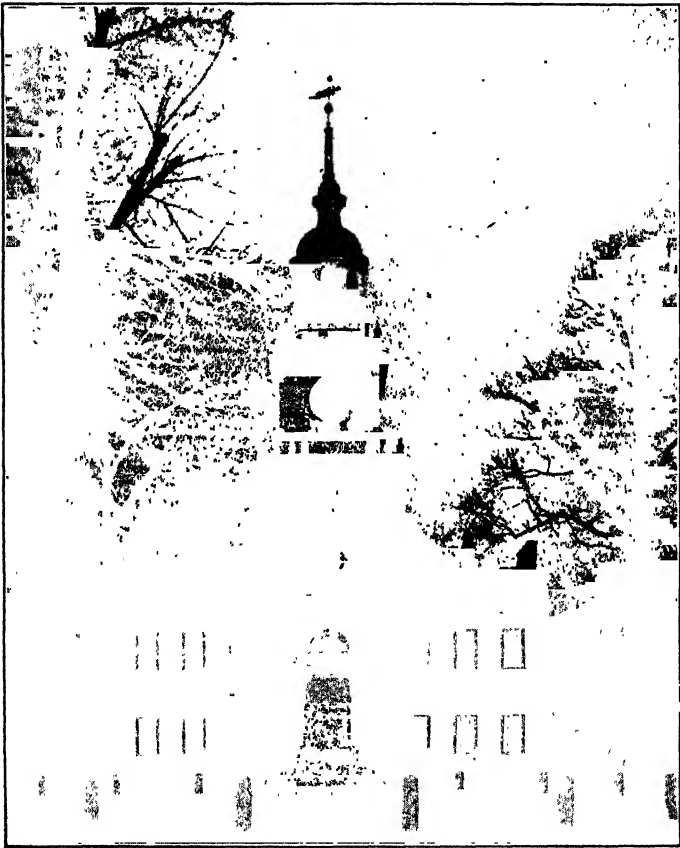
Could tyranny ever exist in this country? Can we overdo the showing of respect to our forefathers? Are we likely to do so?

72. The Form and Contents of Our Constitution. — Most constitutions contain the following general divisions:

(1) A *preamble* — a statement of the reasons why the constitution was made. Sometimes it is very brief.

(2) A *bill of rights*. — It is unlikely that either the federal or any of the state governments would disregard the fundamental liberties of the people, but to make sure that these liberties shall be preserved, we find in almost all constitutions a list of the rights which the government must not take away from the people at all. In our federal Constitution this

appears in the first ten amendments. The makers of the Constitution argued that the government had only such



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.
Many notable events took place here.

powers as were given to it and therefore a bill of rights was not needed, but the people seemed to think it best to have the thing down in black and white.

(3) A sketch of the *frame of government* — the principal officers, the method of choice, and their duties.

(4) Various provisions relating to the *powers* of the government *and* its methods of *administration*.

(5) Provisions for *amendments*. — He would be a foolish constitution maker who would argue that he had done a perfect job, and that there would never be any occasion for the modification of his work. Political ideas, like people, grow, and there must be some provisions for changing a constitution when it is necessary to adapt it to new times and needs.

(6) A *schedule* — a statement of the conditions under which the constitution will go into effect.

Outline our national Constitution with reference to the six parts named. Observe how much space is given to each part. You can very profitably spend enough time in this work so that you can become thoroughly familiar with our Constitution and be able to find readily any clause to which you may wish to refer. Be sure that you can tell in general what each article relates to. There was considerable opposition to the adoption of the United States Constitution. Review from your study of our history what the reasons for the opposition were. Under what circumstances did our government actually begin business under it?

73. The Departments of Government. — Every form of government works in three great fields of activity, which are known as the three departments of government. By the *legislative* department the laws are made. By the *executive* department the laws are put into operation. By the *judicial* department the meaning of laws is determined and decisions are made when people are accused of breaking them.

In the United States we have tried to distinguish and set apart these three departments in every grade of organized government, from the federal government down to the smallest local organization. Just as Congress makes the laws for the whole nation, so the state legislature makes laws for the state and the council for the city. As the President is the chief executive of the nation, so each state

has a governor and most cities a mayor to serve in a similar capacity for them. And the police magistrates or aldermen or justices of the peace perform in a humble way the judicial services for a city or town just as truly as the thoroughly organized courts of the state and the nation do in their respective spheres.



BIG BEN.

This famous clock tower is connected with the Houses of Parliament in London.

may declare it unconstitutional.¹ Congress, in turn, may, by "impeachment" proceedings, remove from office a president, a judge, or other national officer. Most state and city governments have similar provisions. In fact, so thoroughly

Put the facts of this section in the form of a table or diagram.

In practice we do not always find it easy to keep these three departments entirely separate. Besides, our forefathers feared that one department might sometimes become so strong as to endanger the liberties of the people unless it could be restrained in some way, if necessary. They worked out, therefore, an elaborate system of "checks and balances" to avert this danger.

The President may veto a bill passed by Congress or the courts

¹ Notice that the President may disapprove a bill simply because some features of it seem to him unwise or unfair. The courts can set aside a law only when in their opinion the Constitution has given no authority for Congress to pass it.

“checked” are most of our public officials that the people’s liberties are safe from any serious danger. Indeed, we sometimes wonder if our officers are not checked too much.

Can you find legislative, executive, and judicial departments in your home, your church, your school, or a big business concern? Are there any “checks and balances” in these organizations? if not, why not?

74. The English Cabinet System.—The United States is often said to have a *presidential* system of government, with responsibility for administration centered in the President’s hands. England has a *parliamentary* system, with responsibility centered in the Cabinet, which is really a committee of Parliament, the lawmaking body of the country. The English system makes no attempt to separate the executive and legislative departments of government. Most governments follow the English cabinet system. Here are some of its most important differences from ours:

(1) The English Cabinet members have seats in Parliament.

Our Cabinet cannot be members of Congress. Why? (Art. I, Sect. 6, Par. 2)

(2) The English Cabinet proposes the important laws of Parliament and has general control of Parliamentary proceedings.

Our Cabinet can do no more than recommend that Congress pass a bill or get a member to introduce a bill as a favor.

(3) The members of the English Cabinet belong to the party or combination of parties which controls the House of Commons, and will resign if they cannot keep control of that body. Their term of office depends on their ability to keep command in Parliament.

Our Cabinet are usually members of the President’s party, which may not happen to be the party that controls Congress. They may stay in office as long as they please the President, subject only to the impeachment power of Congress.

(4) The offices included in the English Cabinet sometimes vary in different ministries.

The membership of our Cabinet does not vary except as new offices are permanently added.

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(5) The English Cabinet act as a unit with the prime minister, or premier, as the real head of the government.

Our Cabinet do not have to agree on all matters. No one member can control any officials except his own subordinates, and all are subject to the will of the President.

Which system makes it easier to change the government to agree with changes in public sentiment? How far, if at all, would you advise either Great Britain or the United States to adopt the other's methods of government?

75. Amending Our Constitution. — In keeping with the ideas of years ago the process of amendment was made fairly difficult, so that no amendment is likely to be adopted which is not demanded by a large majority of the people.

There are two ways of proposing amendments: (1) Congress may propose them by a two-thirds vote of both houses. (2) A special convention must be called by Congress to propose them if the legislatures of two-thirds of the states request it. Only the first of these methods has thus far been used.

No proposed amendment will become a part of the Constitution until it has been accepted by three fourths of the states. The approval or disapproval of the states may be given either by their legislatures or by special conventions called for that particular purpose. Congress decides which method of ratification shall be used. Thus far it has always referred an amendment to the state legislatures.

What advantage does either method have over the other?

There is no fixed time limit to the process of ratification. No amendment thus far added has required more than four years for ratification. In proposing the prohibition amendment in 1917 Congress provided that it would not be valid unless ratified within seven years. Some such provision seems desirable, so that the country may know in a reasonable time what is to happen to a proposed amendment.

Nineteen amendments have been made. The first ten are in the nature of a Bill of Rights. They were ratified in 1791.

They were really unnecessary, but were added to make it certain that the making of the new government did not take away from the people any rights which they had previously enjoyed.

The Eleventh Amendment was adopted in 1798. It forbids the bringing of a suit in the national courts against a state by a citizen of another state. The amendment was a mistake, and was the result of an unreasoning fear that the national courts might disregard the rights of a state.

The Twelfth Amendment, adopted in 1804, instructed the presidential electors (§ 104) to vote for president and vice-president separately.

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth, adopted in 1865, 1868, and 1870, grew out of the issues and problems of the Civil War. Slavery was abolished and the attempt was made to give the former slaves all the privileges of citizenship, including that of voting. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth have been in part evaded in the states which once had slaves.

The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments were ratified by the required number of states in 1913. The former definitely gave Congress the right to levy an income tax. The latter provided for the election of United States senators by popular vote. The Eighteenth, ratified in 1919, forbade the manufacture or distribution of intoxicating liquors in the United States for use as a beverage. It went into effect one year from the date of its adoption. The Nineteenth, ratified in 1920, forbade the states to deny women the right to vote.

Numerous other amendments have been discussed in Congress from time to time, and some have even been laid before the states. Do you know of any such proposed amendments? Are any under consideration now?

76. The "Unwritten Constitution." — Like every other people, we are in the habit of observing certain customs and practices in government just as faithfully as if they were

definitely written in our Constitution. Probably it is not wrong to call such customs as the following the "unwritten constitution" of this country.

Presidential electors (§ 104) always vote for the regular candidate of their party. The existence of a Cabinet (§ 107) could not be more evident if a thousand laws were passed in regard to it. That the United States may annex territory anywhere will no longer be questioned. Committees of Congress sometimes take a more vital part in legislation than Congress as a whole.

One would best not be too hasty in assuming that a practice is permanent because it has been observed for a long time. The people may at any time decide to exercise any power which the Constitution does not forbid. They may some time, for instance, disregard the hoary tradition which would refuse a man more than eight years in the presidency. Yet it certainly is plain that some customs may become just as positively a part of our political practices as a law or a constitution itself.

. . . To such a country as ours our present form of government is well suited — if we all work to make it succeed. But Americans should not think that our government is the only truly democratic one. We must keep wide awake to maintain our high station among the peoples of the world.

QUESTIONS

Define *government*. Would it be possible to get along without it? Define *law*; *sovereignty*. Who are the sovereigns in each of the leading nations? Define *constitution*. Explain the two kinds of constitution.

What are the different types of national governments? Explain each and give an example if you can. Show the difference in the form of organization of governments. Outline the form of government of the United States. Of what are the states composed? Make a diagram that will show the relation of the nation, the states, and their subdivisions.

What parts usually appear in a constitution? Illustrate each from the Constitution of the United States.

Name and explain the departments of the government. Give examples of each in the national government, the state, and your own community. Explain the principle of checks and balances. Why do we have this? Can it be carried too far?

Point out the differences between our government and that of England. Are there any advantages in the English system?

Why should any constitution provide a way for its amendment? Should that way be easy or hard? What methods does the national Constitution offer? Is any change in the process of amendment desirable? How many amendments have been made? Explain briefly the nature of them. What other proposed amendments have received serious consideration? Are there any at the present time which you would like to see adopted?

Give examples to show that we have something like an "unwritten constitution" in this country. Is it best that these customs shall not be included in the written constitution?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Effect of the Great War on the Governments of the World.

The Benefits of Democracy.

A Sketch of the Changes in Government in France, Japan, China, Russia, or Germany.

How England has become a Democracy.

An Election in England and the Changes That Result from It.

The Making of our National Constitution.

Desirable Amendments to our National Constitution.

Resolved, that constitutional amendments should be adopted by a majority vote of the people.

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Beard: American Citizenship, Chapter 1.

Tufts: The Real Business of Living, pp. 55-62, Chapter 37.

Bryce: American Commonwealth, chapters 25, 26, 31-35, 100-102.

CHAPTER XII

THE UNION AND THE STATES

A star for every state, and a state for every star. — Winthrop.

The United States is unique in its organization of states. Why do we have these states? How are the states related to the federal government and to each other?

77. The Original States. — We must not forget that some of our states are older than our present federal government. The thirteen colonies which in 1776 declared their independence from Great Britain already had well-organized governments of their own, and Vermont governed itself independently of any of them for several years. Connecticut and Rhode Island, indeed, used their colonial charters for state constitutions for many years after they broke away from Great Britain.

Every colony had a governor. Every colony had a legislature or assembly, although Pennsylvania and Georgia had only one house in it.¹ So in changing themselves from colonies to states they altered their form of government very little. In several states the change amounted to little more, as far as form went, than electing a governor instead of having him appointed by the king or by a proprietor.

78. State Constitutions. — After the Declaration of Independence was adopted, Congress advised the states to draw up whatever plan of government their special needs might call for. In the four years from 1776 to 1780 all of them, beginning

¹ Vermont had only one house in its state legislature until 1836.

with New Hampshire and including Vermont, made state constitutions, except Connecticut and Rhode Island. Most of these states have changed their constitutions since then. Several of them have had as many as four different ones. Massachusetts alone has never adopted an entirely new one.

In comparing the early state constitutions with those made in later years we notice a number of differences. The new ones are much longer. New Hampshire's constitution of 1776 had about 600 words; Oklahoma's of 1907 had 50,000. The early constitutions were often made by the state legislature; now a special convention usually is called to do that work and nothing else. The later constitutions are much easier to amend, and deal with a much wider range of subjects. Most states do not seem to feel as much reverence for their own constitutions as they do for the national Constitution, and are much more ready to change them.

In the state constitutions we find practically the same division as in the national constitution — preamble, bill of rights, explanation of the frame of the government, list of the powers of the state government, provision for amendments, and schedule.

The first ten amendments to the national Constitution, as you remember, apply only to the federal government. If there is any need of a bill of rights it holds as strongly against state governments in such matters as the freedom of speech, religion, and the like, as it does against the national government.

The greatest difference among the state constitutions comes in the list of powers and duties of the state governments. They often contain a number of provisions which should never be put into them, but should be left for the legislature to deal with. The process of amendment varies very greatly. At one extreme is Vermont, whose constitution cannot be amended oftener than every ten years; at the other extreme are those states that adopt amendments by the referendum (§ 94) just as readily as an ordinary law would be passed.

Outline the constitution of your state; observe how much space is given to each of the divisions discussed. Compare the proportion of space devoted to each with that given in the national Constitution.

79. The Form of State Governments. — It is best to get a few facts about our own state thoroughly established. In doing that we shall get a general understanding of the main features of state government, for the great majority do not differ much in general principle. We shall at this point mention only a few common facts, showing some of the notable likenesses and differences.

Every state has a legislature of two houses. In many states the official title of the law-making body is the *General Assembly*. Massachusetts and New Hampshire call it the *General Court*. The upper house is called the *Senate* and is much the smaller of the two. The lower house is called most often the *House of Representatives*, but some states use the term *Assembly* for this body. The officers of the two houses and the process of law-making are so nearly like those of Congress (§§ 95–100) that it will hardly pay us to study the differences except as we find them in our own state.

In every state the chief executive officer is the *governor*. His term is either one, two, or four years. In most of the states he has the veto power and other powers like those of the president in the national government. He appoints very many executive officers, with the approval of the state senate. Three-fourths of the states have a *lieutenant-governor* to succeed to the office of governor in case a vacancy occurs. He generally presides over the state senate.

There are many other *executive officials* or *commissions* to deal with particular branches of the state's administrative work. They very often do not form a cabinet as in the federal government, and the authority of the governor over them is usually very much less than that of the president over the national executive departments.

Do you believe in having a strong governor or one with little power?

Among these administrative officials appear the following:
The *Secretary of State* has charge of the official records and papers of the governor and legislature, and has numerous

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LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

FILE OF THE SENATE.

No. 509 Session of 1923.

MR. BARR, IN PLACE, MARCH 26, 1923.

MR. HARRIS, EDUCATION, APRIL 3, 1923.

AN ACT

To require the teaching of the Constitution of the United States in the public and private schools

Section 1—*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same That in all public and private schools located within the Commonwealth commencing, with the school year next ensuing after the passage of this act there shall be given regular courses of instruction in the Constitution of the United States*

THE FIRST PRINTED FORM OF A LEGISLATIVE BILL.

For the steps in passing a bill through the legislature of a state, compare the process described for Congress in section 100, and find out whether there are any important differences in the process followed in your own state.

other duties which vary considerably from one state to another. In Massachusetts and Pennsylvania this officer is known as the *Secretary of the Commonwealth*.

The *Auditor*, *Auditor-General*, or *Comptroller*, must see that no money is spent from the state treasury unless it has been authorized by law, and sometimes has other duties connected with the state's finances.

Every state has a *Treasurer*, who is responsible for the actual care and expenditure of the money paid into the state treasury.

Almost all the states have an *Attorney-General*, who is the legal adviser of the state officials. He and his assistants also represent the state in legal cases in which the state is directly concerned.

Most of the states have also an *Adjutant-General*, with important duties in the state's National Guard; a *Superintendent of Education*, *Superintendent of Public Instruction*, or *Commissioner of Education*; and a *Commissioner of Insurance*. Many of them have a *Commissioner of Agriculture* and a number of other officers whose names suggest their duties.

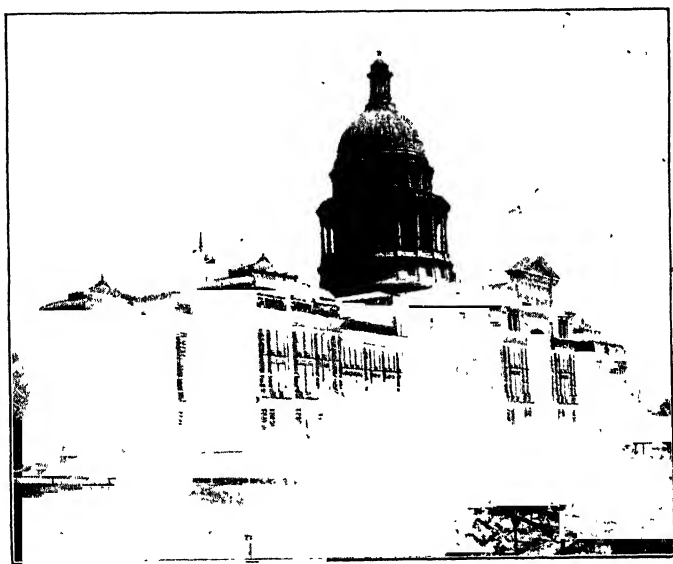
In some states these officials are appointed by the governor and in others they are elected by popular vote.

Every state has a *supreme court*, though not always known by that name. Every state has also a system of lower courts. Perhaps there is more difference in the organization of the judicial departments than in either of the others. The terms of the judges run from two years in Vermont to twenty-one years for supreme justice in Pennsylvania. The general powers of the courts are about the same in all the states.

Study thoroughly the form of government of your own state. Learn the names and duties of its principal officers. Observe carefully, as you go on, the points of likeness and difference between your state and the national government, and between your state and the general statements we have made. Always try to keep up to date with any changes in officials or form of government.

80. Financing State Governments. — States sometimes find it difficult to secure the revenue which they need, without burdening the people who are already paying taxes to the national and local governments. State taxes are, it is

true, lighter than any other, because the state governments actually handle much less money than the national and local governments. Some states levy a general property tax which is collected through the counties or other local agencies. When this is done, it is often necessary to set up a state board of equalization or some other similar board so as to make sure that some counties are not undervaluing



THE STATE CAPITOL, AUSTIN, TEXAS.

their property so to avoid paying their share of the state tax. Such an arrangement insures a fair burden on the different counties.

Each state levies a tax on inheritances, especially on those received by persons not near relatives of the former owner. A few states have an income tax. Many states have levied taxes on mortgages or money at interest. In a few a poll tax still exists, though this is more often a local tax. Fees for granting charters, automobile licenses, and other permits

of various kinds provide some revenue. Some states — Pennsylvania for instance — secure revenue from taxes on natural resources, such as anthracite coal, or on gasoline.

Some states spend a great deal more money than others for assistance to schools, the construction of highways, and the support of hospitals for the insane, tubercular, feeble-minded, and other needy classes. A difficult question is sometimes raised as to whether appropriations should be made for the assistance of hospitals, colleges, and other institutions which are controlled wholly or partly by religious denominations or private corporations. In some states assistance of this kind is forbidden by the state constitution.

Which of the above mentioned taxes does your state levy? Does it have any other forms of revenues not mentioned in this section? Does your state legislature appropriate money to private institutions? If it does are there any limitations on its powers in that direction?

81. Admission of States. — The admission of new states is in the hands of Congress. If a new state is to be made from land wholly or partly within the limits of one or more of the existing states, the legislatures of the states that are concerned must give their consent. Maine and West Virginia are the only states which have been so formed. But most of the other states of the present forty-eight were territories before they were states, and came into the Union only when Congress got ready to let them come. There is no law requiring any particular population or area. When a state has once been admitted, it is on full political equality with the others, and there is no way of getting it out.

One would suppose, therefore, that Congress would be very careful about this matter. Sometimes it has been, but sometimes the desire to get more electoral votes or members of the Senate for the benefit of a political party has been the chief reason why a state was admitted much earlier than it should have been. Nevada, for example, had only 20,000 population when it was admitted, and even

to-day you could put the people of seven Nevadas in the one city of Pittsburgh.

The process most often followed in admitting a new state is the following. Congress passes an "enabling act" which authorizes the people of a territory to choose delegates to a convention for the purpose of drawing up a state constitution. This constitution is then submitted to the vote of the people of the territory. If it is accepted by them and is satisfactory to Congress, that body passes a resolution to that effect. The President then issues a proclamation an-



WHERE THREE STATES MEET.

Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland are all in this picture. The situation of Harper's Ferry is unique.

nouncing that a new state has come into the Union. The arrangement of stars in the flag is adjusted soon afterward to make room for the new one.

Sometimes Congress tries to insist on certain provisions which a state must comply with in order to be admitted. Oklahoma, for example, for the benefit of the Indians, was obliged to prohibit the liquor traffic for at least 21 years. Utah was kept out for many years until the rulers of the Mormon church were understood to have given a solemn pledge that the church had ceased the practice of polygamy.

When was your state admitted? How did it rank in population then and how does it now, in comparison with the other states?

82. The Division of Power between States and Nation. — To most of us the discussion of constitutional powers may seem very dry, yet it is desirable to understand them if we are to comprehend the principles on which our system of government is based. We may gather examples of all the powers that have been or could be exercised by any government, and then group them as they apply to our own government.

(1) *Forbidden powers.* — In this group belong all powers that have been exercised by some government at one time or other, but which are not permitted by our national Constitution to either our national or state governments:

No *ex post facto* laws may be passed — that is, laws under which a person might be punished for doing an act which was not contrary to law at the time it was done. Of course a law may be passed declaring an act to be a crime which had not been considered so before, but it can apply only to occasions after the law was passed.

No *bill of attainder* is permitted — this is the name applied to an act of Parliament or similar body condemning a man to punishment without giving him a trial in court, and perhaps depriving his family also of some of their rights or privileges.

No title of nobility may be granted; no public officer may accept a present or office from a foreign government without the consent of Congress. Why?

Slavery is forbidden within our borders. All persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens and entitled to the equal protection of its laws. No one may be denied the power of voting because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," or sex.

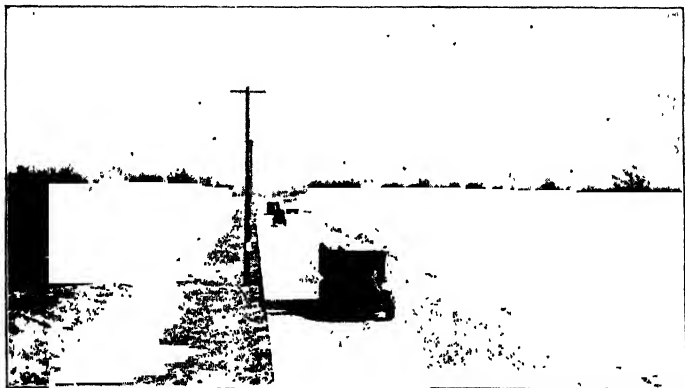
No tax may be placed on goods exported from any state. Some countries make use of this kind of tax, but it was feared that such a tax might hinder the progress and prosperity of the country.

When we put the first nine amendments to our national Constitution alongside the bills of rights in the state constitutions we have a rather formidable list of restrictions on the powers of our governments in relation to the privileges of the people.

(2) *Concurrent powers.* — These powers may be employed by either the federal or the state governments: vital privileges such as laying taxes and borrowing money, and others

less often mentioned but still important, such as bankruptcy laws, acts regulating weights and measures, the trial of certain cases at law, and the like.

(3) *Federal powers.* — There are certain acts which if done at all can be safely permitted only to the central government. They include the making of treaties and alliances, the granting of letters of marque and reprisal, coining money, declaring war, and keeping an army or navy in time of peace.



Courtesy Portland Cement Association

A STATE HIGHWAY.

This fine concrete road runs from Indiana Harbor to Whiting, Indiana.

Three other powers are forbidden to the states although not specially granted to the federal government. (1) The states may not “emit bills of credit” — in other words, issue paper money. (2) They may not make anything but gold and silver “a tender in payment of debts.” That is, a state may not force a person to accept paper money in payment of an obligation. (3) The states may not “pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts,” — that is, interfering with or preventing the performance of agreements already made. The federal government has done the first two of these things repeatedly.

(4) *State powers.* — The powers that are left are the powers which the Tenth Amendment declares to be “reserved to the states respectively or to the people.” The list of them would

be almost endless. The care of the public health, education, regulation of local government, the care of the poor, the insane, and the sick, the granting of the right to vote, — these are only a few of the many matters which are wholly or largely controlled by the states.

Yet the federal and state governments often coöperate directly, as in handling a contagious disease. Sometimes the federal government leaves to the states the carrying out of its own laws, as when the districting of states for the election of representatives in Congress is left for the state legislatures.

That this spirit of coöperation and harmony could be improved is very true. But even as it is, each makes use of the other's services. Neither can forget that there are states and that there is a federal constitution and government binding them all in one.

83. National Supremacy and Obligation. — The Constitution of the United States and all laws and treaties made in accordance with it, shall be "the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby." So says the Constitution itself very plainly. If the two spheres of authority conflict, the state must give way, and recognize the higher authority of the nation.

So as to assure this recognition of the national authority, all public officers of the states as well as of the nation must take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. Some people assert that there is a "twilight zone" in which it is hard to distinguish between the authority of the nation and of the state. But the ordinary person does not need to worry much about it. If he does wrong, it makes little difference whether he is punished by the state or the national government. If he does right neither is likely to bother him.

Perhaps in return for the recognition of this supremacy, the national government undertakes certain obligations toward the states. It must guarantee them a republican form of government. It is very unlikely that any state will

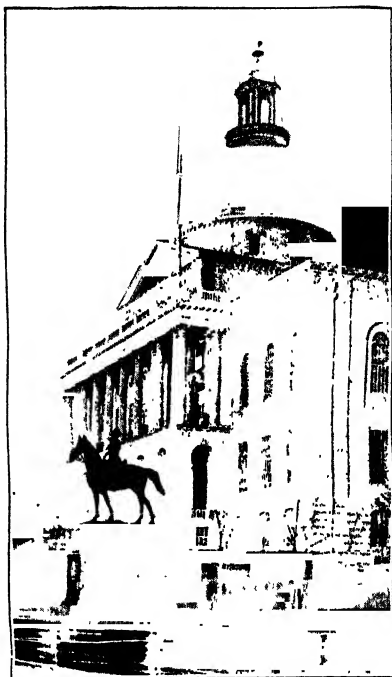
ever try to establish a monarchy or any other objectionable style of government; but if it should, the national government would be bound to prevent its continuance. The Supreme Court has ruled that the responsibility for deciding when a state has a republican form of government rests with Congress and not with the Court.

Further, the United States must protect every state from invasion by an enemy, though the state is expected to take its own part also, if such an unhappy event should occur. Finally, if a state cannot by its own efforts maintain order and put down a riot or insurrection within its own limits, its governor, or its legislature, if that body is in session, may appeal to the federal authorities for help.

84. Relation of the States to One Another.—

In a federal government like ours, some delicate questions arise out of the relations of the parts of the Union to each other. To escape disagreement as much as possible, matters of this kind should be stated rather definitely in the national Constitution. Only by this means can such uniformity and fairness be secured as will make the people in all parts of the country feel that they are treated alike.

The Constitution tells us that "full faith and credit shall



A NIGHT VIEW OF THE STATE HOUSE
AT BOSTON.

be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state." This means that an act legally done in one state must be respected as a legal act by the other states, even though their own laws might differ on the point in question. A deed to property which has been recorded in a lawful manner in one state must be recognized by the courts of another state. A corporation (§ 152) which has received a charter in any state must be recognized by other states as having the right to carry on business as a corporation, even if it could not have received a charter anywhere else.

Would it be an advantage if corporations were chartered by the federal government? Would it be better if marriage and divorce laws were uniform throughout the country?

A citizen of one state is entitled to all the "privileges and immunities" of citizens of any other state while he may be within the borders of that other state. A citizen of New York staying for a while in Pennsylvania may claim all the privileges of a citizen of Pennsylvania, no more and no less. He has no right to violate a Pennsylvania law simply because an act he may want to perform would not be a crime in New York. It is understood that it is a person's duty to keep informed as to the laws of the place where he is, and not offer his ignorance as an excuse for a habit of law-breaking.

The laws of a state are not in force beyond its own limits, but a criminal may not expect to escape punishment by fleeing from a state in which a crime was committed. In such a case, the governor of that state may request the governor of the state where the criminal has gone, to permit the accused to be brought back. Usually the second governor will comply with such a request, though there is no way of punishing him if he does not.

Do you know of any cases in which the governor of your state has made a *requisition* upon the governor of another state in order to obtain a fugitive from justice? Can you imagine any circumstances

under which a governor would be justified in refusing to comply with a requisition?

If a criminal escapes to a foreign country, the process of getting him back is taken up by our national State Department, as the individual states are not allowed to deal directly with a foreign country. With most of the countries of the world we have special "extradition" treaties covering cases of this kind.

In spite of the many differences in detail between the laws of one state and the laws of another, the great mass of fundamental principles and customs is similar in all the states. When there is a difference, our attention is particularly called to it. We may forget the ninety per cent of features that are common to all, in looking at a part of the ten per cent in which there is a difference. Nowhere is there so much difference that a person moving from one state to another would have any serious trouble in adjusting himself to his new surroundings, so far as government is concerned.

There is absolute freedom of trade between the states. *Intrastate* commerce, that is, commerce entirely within a state, may be regulated as that state sees fit. But when a journey or an exchange of goods or messages crosses the boundaries of a state, then it becomes *interstate* commerce and is subject to the control of Congress. No state is allowed to tax goods brought from another, except for the purpose of inspecting them. The need for anything of this kind is rare.

Prove that a very large part of present-day industry is subject to national regulation.

. . . All the states of our union are on the same footing. Although they are often widely separated geographically, they can operate as smoothly as though they were one in form as well as in spirit. The nation includes them all — a sovereign without being a tyrant.

QUESTIONS

Is the nation older than the states? How much change in the form of state governments was caused by the American Revolution?

Compare the state constitutions made in Revolutionary times with those of later years.

What features appear in practically all state constitutions? Take the constitution of your own state and see how much space is taken up by each of these features.

Mention the respects in which the form of all state governments is alike. Give the main general facts about the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches of the state government.

How do state governments obtain revenue?

How many states are there? Are any more in prospect? What are the constitutional requirements in regard to the admission of a new state? What customs commonly characterize the process? Do you think this matter has always been wisely handled? What general considerations would you suggest that should always be observed in this connection?

Make an outline or a diagram that will show the powers forbidden to national and state governments alike, those forbidden to the states but exercised by the national government, those not granted to the national government but exercised by the states, and those exercised by both national and state governments. Define *bill of attainder*, *ex post facto law*, *bill of credit*.

According to the national Constitution as you read it, to what extent does it possess authority over the states? How far does your view agree or disagree with the theory advocated by Calhoun in the days before the Civil War? How far does it concern the national government or the other states what form of government any state establishes? How far is the national government responsible for law and order in a state?

Why is it essential that the relations of one state to another should be rather definitely marked out? To what extent must one state recognize the acts of another? What rights does the citizen of one state enjoy when he is in another state? Which are more numerous or evident, the likenesses or the differences between the laws of the states?

Describe the process followed when a person accused of crime goes outside the state where the crime was committed.

SPECIAL TOPICS

How the Colonies Were Governed.

The Webster-Hayne Debate.

The Story of the American Flag.

The Admission of — to the Union.

**A Famous Case Involving State Rights.
Constitution-Making in Our State.
Our State Constitutions.**

Most of the special work done in connection with this chapter had better concern itself directly with the government of the pupils' own state. An outline can be worked out by the teacher and the class and the necessary facts obtained from the state constitution, legislative directories, handbooks, and the like, which practically all state governments issue. Try always to keep up to date with the names of important public officials, changes in important laws, etc., and be sure the pupils understand that state laws, customs, and officials are not as changeless as the "laws of the Medes and Persians."

If possible, make a map of your state showing its division into legislative districts. At least be able to describe those in which you live.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Magruder : American Government, Chapters 3, 4.

Reed : Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 1, 4.

Beard : American Citizenship, Chapters 1, 7.

Lessons in Community and National Life, A-18, C-18.

Bryce : American Commonwealth, Chapters 27-30.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

*We are coming, we, the young men,
Strong of heart and millions strong,
We shall work where you have trifled,
Cleanse the temple, right the wrong,
Till the land our fathers visioned
Shall be spread before our ken.
We are through with politicians —
Give us Men! Give us Men! — Guiterman.*

One of the most important features of a people's government is representation. How do we select our public officers? We usually work through political parties. Why do we have them? Is the party system wise and safe?

85. Reasons for Political Parties. — The makers of our national Constitution had no idea that there would be political parties as we know them to-day. There is nothing whatever in the Constitution that suggests the election of officers or the deciding of public questions on a party basis. Yet there had been parties in England long before 1787, and probably there will always be parties under any free government.

One man, unless he is exceptionally famous or influential, is not usually able to affect the opinions of very many other people by any expression of his own views. When thousands of persons who think somewhat alike combine to advocate certain principles or to support certain candidates for office, the chance for the success of their opinions or candidates is multiplied many fold. In politics as in business a good organization will make money and energy count for much

more than the same amount could accomplish if every individual worked by himself. A *political party* may be defined as a group of persons of similar political opinions, who have organized for the purpose of making their principles the policy of the government.

At the same time, no voter has any right to excuse himself for neglecting to take part in the nomination and election of public officers on the ground that his one vote does not count for much. A margin of just one vote has elected a governor in one of our states, and for local offices close contests are common.

Of course all members of a party do not exactly agree on everything, but the very fact of drawing up a set of principles which shall be known as the party "platform" causes men to reason more clearly about their own views, and helps toward a better understanding of public questions. The party helps to bring out the great issues of the day, if there are any. The existence of more than one party is sometimes beneficial, too, in causing the persons who are in office to be more careful and honest than they otherwise might be, lest they should afford the party out of power too much to talk about when the next contest for office comes around.

What have been some of the great issues that have divided national parties?

86. Party Organization. — If we grant that parties are useful, we must admit the necessity of party organization, for nothing will succeed if conducted in a haphazard, unsystematic way. Every great party has its national committee, made up of one person from each state in the Union. Besides this, it has a state committee in every state, a county committee in every county, city and township committees, and often even ward or precinct committees, especially in the cities.

Each local committee is responsible for arousing interest in the party, getting the voters out on election day, and

attending to the welfare of the party generally. These committees are usually chosen, when they are permanently organized, in the same way that the party candidates are nominated for office. Committees for a particular campaign are agreed upon in some way by the leaders of the party.

The party platform is drawn up at a convention of party candidates or of delegates elected specially for this convention. Often one man or a very few men do all the work of preparing the platform, and the convention does nothing but go through the form of consenting. Sometimes certain "planks," or statements of opinion, which the party leaders never intend to carry out, are put into a platform in the hope of catching a few extra votes. Too often, as it has been expressed, a platform is something to get in on, and not to stand on after you get in. Such an attitude is dishonorable, and voters ought to rebuke at the first opportunity a candidate or a party that is guilty of it.

87. Dangers in Parties. — The ideal way to manage a party would be to have its affairs handled by its ablest and strongest men, who had been thoughtfully chosen for that purpose by the voters of the party. But unfortunately the men of high character who could do such work well are so active in other lines that they cannot take time to do the work of the politician. Besides, the rank and file of a party do not think as carefully as they should about the motives and ability of the men who control its affairs. As a result, party "bosses" who care for nothing but their own advancement and profit often get the machinery of the party into their own hands. They can then put themselves into office without trouble, or, as they sometimes prefer to do, put in less known men who will do as they are told by the boss.

The habit that many voters have of supporting blindly any candidate who bears their party name is the mainstay of the power of the boss. Only as the voters learn to judge a candidate on his own merits and to disregard party names when

they mark their ballots, can we hope to force parties to select the best men for office and thus to get really good government.

If there is a political boss in your state, how did he get his power? Should any unpleasant thought be connected with the word "politician"?

As it stands to-day, an officeholder who dares to defy party authority and act always as his conscience tells him is often punished for his uprightness by being denied any further political honors. Outrageous though such a situation is, the mass of the voters are not thoughtful enough to discern and reward the official who really serves the people. The use of national party names in state and local elections is another unfortunate custom which confuses the voter and makes it much harder to obtain the right type of men for local offices.

Happily we have seen in the last few years a much greater spirit of independence than formerly prevailed. Voting a "split" ticket — that is, voting for a list of candidates for different offices who do not all belong to the same party — has become reasonably common. It is often perfectly right to consider a candidate's party when we are making our selection, but after all the main consideration should be what *he* has done, what *he* believes, and what *he* can do, rather than what party tag has been attached to him by a group of politicians.

What seem to you to be the principal policies advocated by the political parties of to-day? Is there any advantage in having a governor of the same party as the majority of the legislature? How do the parties rank in your state? Is there any special reason for this?

88. Nominations. — For a great many years the most common way of selecting a party's candidates for office was by a caucus or convention. The term *caucus* may be applied to almost any kind of meeting of the members of one party within a limited district. It may include those in a certain precinct, in a state legislature, or in Congress. A *convention*

is usually an assembly of persons who have been elected by caucuses or by other means to meet for some definite purpose. We still use the convention method for nominating a presidential candidate, and it is not easy to see how we can get rid of it entirely. But the opinion has become somewhat general, and not without reason, that a caucus or convention, on account of the small number of its members, is too easily handled by political schemers and "wire-pullers."

In order to give the mass of the voters in a party a fair chance to say something about its nominations, a different

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>GOVERNOR Vote for ONE</p> <p>W. MITCHELL POSTON <small>Member of the Legislature, Speaker of House, 1890-1892</small></p> | <p>CONGRESSMAN Vote for ONE</p> <p>HARRY C. DAGGETT <small>of Tenth District</small> JAMES E. MAGUIRE <small>of 21st District</small> JAMES W. H. MYRICK <small>of 22nd District</small></p> |
| <p>LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Vote for ONE</p> <p>CHARLES L. BURNETT <small>Member of the Legislature, Speaker of House, 1892-1894</small></p> <p>F. LAWRENCE <small>of Tenth District</small> <small>Member of the Legislature, Speaker of House, 1894-1896</small></p> | <p>COUNCILLOR Vote for ONE</p> <p>E. COLEMAN BROWN WILLIAM L. ROBERTS</p> |
| <p>SENATOR Vote for ONE</p> <p>WILLIAM C. BROWN <small>Member of the Legislature, Speaker of House, 1896-1898</small></p> <p>JAMES C. BROWN <small>Member of the Legislature, Speaker of House, 1898-1900</small></p> | <p>SENATOR Vote for ONE</p> <p>BENJAMIN F. THOMPSON</p> |

A PRIMARY BALLOT.

plan, known as the *direct primary*, has now been adopted by a majority of the states. A few weeks or months before a regular election, a primary election is held, which is conducted by the same officers and in about the same way as the regular election, and is open to all qualified voters.

Persons who wish to be the candidates of a certain party for office are required to present a petition signed by a certain number of voters, and a party ballot is prepared for each party. This contains the names of all would-be candidates for that party. When the voter arrives, he is given the bal-

lot for the party to which he is supposed to belong, and is allowed to mark his preference for each office.

It cannot be truthfully claimed that all the improvement has come from this method which was hoped for, but at least if the mass of the voters in a party do not get the kind of nominations which they wish, it is nobody's fault but their own. The direct primary is certainly an important step toward government by the people.

It is still possible for a person to get his name on the ballot as a candidate in most states, even after the primaries. This is done by securing the signatures of a certain number of voters on a petition or "nomination paper" and entering the contest under some new distinguishing party title. Usually one or two per cent of the total vote of a state at the last election is required to secure the placing of a party name on the official ballot of the next election. Persons who have to get their names on the ballot in this way are under a decided handicap in running against the candidates of organized political parties, but they sometimes succeed.

89. Political Campaigns. — When the leading parties have adopted their platforms and made their nominations, the race is fairly on. The candidates and other "spell-binders" address public meetings or "rallies." Advertisements, news items, and editorials appear in newspapers and magazines urging the people to vote one way or another.

It used to be the custom more than now to hold big parades and burn a great deal of red fire and otherwise get the public excited over a party or a candidate, as in the famous "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign of 1840. But with the spread of general intelligence it has become more common to use methods more suitable to educated men, though many of the arguments put forth in a political contest would sound foolish if employed in any other serious business.

In every national election and in the majority of state elections, the outcome is determined by the way the independent vote is cast. The particular appeal is therefore

made to those voters who do some thinking for themselves, and the "regular," who would vote for a gray mule on his own party ticket, is simply urged to come to the polls on election day.

Many of the methods used by political parties are honest and honorable, but when the well-wishers of a party contribute generously to fill its treasury, the temptation is sometimes strong to use the party funds in ways that are questionable or downright dishonest. Large corporations formerly gave liberally to campaign funds in the hope that the party which received their gifts would allow no laws to pass which would hurt the corporations.

To prevent the dishonest use of money, not only have states passed laws providing heavy penalties for bribery, but there are both state and national acts requiring the publication of the names of contributors to campaign funds, and forbidding a party to accept gifts from corporations. Candidates for office must also file statements showing their own receipts and expenditures.

What, in your opinion, are proper and improper uses of money in campaigns? Who contributes this money and why? Would conditions be improved if campaign expenses were paid out of the state or national treasury? Who should be punished, the man who gives a bribe or who accepts one, or both?

90. Elections.—Presidential elections are held on the Tuesday after the first Monday of November in every year divisible by 4. Every state except Maine chooses its state officers and members of Congress on that same day of the year, whenever such officers are to be chosen. In many states elections for city, county, or other local officers are held separately from state and national elections, either in the spring or in December, or in alternate years. Such an arrangement helps to relieve the evil of mixing state and national politics. There is no general rule governing the time of holding primary elections. Each state settles that for itself.

Communities containing more than a few hundred voters

are divided into precincts or election districts. In each district there is usually a judge, with two or more inspectors and ballot clerks, chosen by the voters of the district and representing more than one party. The whole American election system really depends upon the honesty of these small election boards, for if they are too ignorant or corrupt to count the ballots correctly, there is not much use in holding an election at all. Each party may have "watchers" at the polls, who can "challenge" persons whom they suspect of not being entitled to vote and can require them to prove their right.

"Stuffing the ballot box" and other forms of cheating at elections are now, taking the country as a whole, exceptional instances, and are no longer excused on the ground that anything goes in politics as long as our side wins. We should not feel, on the other hand, that all political workers can be trusted without watching. There are still dishonest men and men who cannot resist temptation.

The polls are open practically all of election day, although the exact hours vary in different states. Sunrise to sunset, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., 7 A.M. to 7 P.M., are examples. Immediately after the polls close, the election officers begin to count the votes. If the ballot contains the names of many candidates, constitutional amendments to be voted on, and the like, the work is long and tiresome.

After finishing the count, the officials send or take the returns to the county or state officer as required by law for the purpose of tabulating and officially announcing them. Usually the result of a presidential or other important election is known on election night through estimates based on the early returns gathered by newspapers, but if the vote in a state is close and the outcome depends on the vote in some country districts, it may be days before the result can be stated with certainty.

Bound the voting precinct in which you live. In what building is the voting done? How does the precinct generally go politically?

What are the laws and customs of your state about casting, counting, and returning the votes?

91. Qualifications of Voters. — The national Constitution has little to say about who shall vote in any state. Amendment XIV declares that if states deny the vote to any male citizen over 21 years of age for any reason except the commission of some crime, their representation in Congress shall be cut down; but by various tricks this provision is evaded, and Congress has never dared to enforce the penalty. The states do almost exactly as they please in the matter, and the qualifications required of voters vary considerably.

The ownership of property was once demanded in most of the states, but that has disappeared almost everywhere, as inconsistent with the spirit of democracy. An age requirement of 21 years is universal. United States citizenship is necessary in most states, though a few allow an alien to vote who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen. Most states insist that a person must have lived in his state and voting district for a certain time before he may vote, and several demand the payment of some kind of tax. Some states require the ability to read and write or to understand the constitution of the United States or the state.

In some states, particularly those with large cities, voters must go personally before a registration board and enroll their names, if they wish to vote. Some such rule as this is about the only way to prevent the "padding" of the voting lists with fraudulent names and voting more than once by the same person — "repeating," as it is called. In country districts and small towns such fraud cannot so easily be committed, and there the enrollment of voters is made by the assessors or other local officers.

Make up a complete and exact list of requirements for voters which you would consider fair and reasonable. How does this compare with the laws of your own state? Do you favor an educational test for voters?

For many years a question much argued was whether women should be given the ballot on the same terms as men. A few women, like Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone, urged forcefully that it was unfair to limit the ballot to men, but for a long time they made little headway, and the question was treated as a joke by many people.

But when the women took hold nobly in the various kinds of work made necessary by the Great War, it seemed a matter

To vote for a person, stamp a cross (X) in the square at the right of the name

| REPUBLICAN TICKET | | DEMOCRATIC TICKET | | SOCIALIST TICKET | |
|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| For U. S. Senator | | For U. S. Senator | | For U. S. Senator | |
| H. W. JOHNSON | | W. W. PATTON | | A. B. COLE | |
| For Representative in Congress | | For Representative in Congress | | For Representative in Congress | |
| R. W. HARBISON | | Wm. KETTNER | | E. W. ROBBINS | |
| For Secretary of State | | For Secretary of State | | For Secretary of State | |
| F. C. JORDAN | | L. P. HOLMES | | C. S. TOLMIN | |
| For Comptroller | | For Comptroller | | For Comptroller | |
| J. S. CHAMBERS | | H. F. RICHARDS | | R. B. HUNT | |
| For Attorney-General | | For Attorney-General | | For Attorney-General | |
| U. S. WEBB | | F. R. WILKINS | | M. F. COSTELLO | |

"PARTY COLUMN" BALLOT.

A form like this has been used by California, Vermont, and several other states, though some of them have abandoned it. The old style New York and Indiana ballot had also a picture of some kind at the top of each column as a distinguishing mark, with a place indicated where a voter could vote for an entire party ticket by making only one cross.

of simple justice to recognize their right to a voice in governing the nation. In June, 1919, the last steps were taken by Congress in proposing an amendment to the national Constitution requiring the states to give women equal voting rights with men. After a bitter fight in some states the consent of the necessary thirty-sixth state was recorded, so that in the presidential election of 1920 the women were able to vote all over the Union.

196 Political Parties and Elections

Would there be any advantage in having the right to vote regulated by the national government rather than by the states? Woman suffrage has thus far done no harm, to say the least. Why do you suppose some people once objected to it so violently? Women have generally not voted in as great numbers as men. Is there any reason for that fact? Is it an argument against woman suffrage?

92. Forms of Ballots. — At the beginning of the nineteenth century people usually voted by word of mouth, and in

FIRST COLUMN

This Column is for
Straight Party Votes

To vote a straight party ticket, mark a cross (X) in the square in the first column, opposite the name of the party of your choice.

A cross mark in the square opposite the name of any candidate indicates a vote for that candidate.

| | | | | | |
|-------------|--|---|------|--|------|
| REPUBLICAN | | United States Senator <i>(Vote for one)</i> | | Representative in Congress <i>(Vote for one)</i> | |
| | | P. C. KNOX | Rep. | M. C. KELLY | Rep. |
| | | | Key. | | Key. |
| DEMOCRATIC | | E. L. ORVIS | Dem. | | Pro. |
| | | C. W. ERVIN | Soc. | G. F. MYER | Dem. |
| | | | | | |
| SOCIALIST | | | | Representative in the General Assembly <i>(Vote for two)</i> | |
| | | State Treasurer <i>(Vote for one)</i> | | C. C. BALDRIDGE | Rep. |
| PROHIBITION | | H. M. KEPHART | Rep. | J. R. WYLIE | Rep. |
| | | | Key. | C. H. CLIFFORD | Dem. |
| KEYSTONE | | J. M. CRAWFORD | Dem. | G. F. MIDGELEY | Dem. |
| | | CHAS. SEHL | Soc. | | |
| | | | | | |

A PENNSYLVANIA BALLOT.

some states the polls were kept open for several days. In place of that method, the use of a written or printed ballot was later introduced, each political party supplying its own. Although this was an improvement over the former practice, it was still too open and permitted fraud too easily.

Beginning with about 1890 the states have adopted some form of the system of voting previously used in Australia and therefore called the *Australian ballot*. The cardinal features of this plan are that (1) the names of the candidates of all parties are printed on one ballot, which the voter must mark in some way; (2) the state or county authorities

The ballot is a single sheet of paper with multiple columns for different offices. The columns are: ELECTIONS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT, GOVERNOR, SECRETARY, TREASURER, AUDITOR, ATTORNEY GENERAL, and others. Each column lists candidates from different parties (Republican, Democrat, Socialist Labor, etc.) and has a space for the voter to mark their choice. The ballot is marked with 'X' marks in the 'GOVERNOR' and 'SECRETARY' columns. The text at the top of the ballot reads: 'To vote for Ballot of your Party, mark X on the square at the right of the Party Name.'

A MASSACHUSETTS BALLOT.

supply the ballots; and (3) the marking is done in a private booth, so that no one can see how the voter marks his ballot.

Bribery is discouraged by this system, because the briber cannot be sure that a bribed voter will mark his ballot as he agrees to. Independent voting is promoted, too, because men who, for fear of losing their jobs or incurring the ill will

he can make a cross opposite the individual names of candidates, taking some of them from one column and some from another. The so-called *Massachusetts ballot* groups all the candidates for an office together, arranging their names in alphabetical order. There is no "party square," and a voter must mark for each office separately. This form of ballot requires intelligence to use and strongly encourages independent voting. It has been adopted by several other states than Massachusetts. The systems in vogue in the other states are either a compromise between these two methods or a variation of one of them. Voting machines have been used in a few places, especially in New York State, but they have not yet become generally popular.

93. Getting Good Men for Office. — We sometimes hear a good deal of fault-finding with those men who belong to state legislatures, or Congress, or hold some executive position. Indeed it often does seem as if a very ordinary lot of men get into office. Yet after all none but the voters themselves elect these men to office. Probably most of them are not any better or worse than the average run of the voters themselves. Many people to-day will cast their ballot for a certain candidate because "he needs the money," or belongs to their lodge, or for some other reason which is not sufficient proof of his fitness for the office. If the government does not run well, the people themselves will have to take the blame.

There are a great many offices in our national, state, and local governments that are filled by appointment by the president, governor, mayor, or somebody else. This is done on the supposition that there is a better chance that way of selecting the person that is best adapted to the job, and for really important executive positions this often proves to be true. But in filling minor positions there is still much likelihood of appointing unqualified people. The governor, or mayor, or president cannot possibly know everybody who seeks a position. Therefore he must depend upon the

recommendations of a member of the legislature, or a congressman, or some other person in politics, who may have a friend for whom he wishes to get a place, regardless of his fitness for the office.

To remove this element of petty politics there has been instituted what was once called civil service reform. Persons appointed in the "civil service" — positions outside of the army and navy — may be required to take an examination which will show at least that they have an ordinary education and sometimes will give proof of special fitness for a position.

We failed to start this reform in the national government until after an office-seeker killed President Garfield. To-day over 500,000 persons hold positions in the classified civil service, and had to take examinations before they were appointed. Some states and cities now have a civil service system or pretend to have one.

For positions requiring high executive ability it would be very hard to make suitable examinations. Besides, the officer who makes an appointment may sometimes have a right to select a person who will be personally congenial to him. Naturally the ability to pass certain kinds of examination does not guarantee that a person has all the talents required for some positions, but we certainly cannot expect such a result from appointments recommended by selfish politicians. We need more of the "merit system" all over the country, not less.

Many people believe that the voters should elect only a few officers and should hold them responsible for appointing the rest. This idea is called the *short ballot*. What do you think of it? If it should be instituted in your community, what officers would you have elected?

Another idea is that of the *preferential ballot*. This permits a voter to indicate his second, third, and perhaps further, choices among the candidates for an office. In making up the returns such votes are combined with a candidate's "first choice" votes in some prescribed manner. How do you like it?

The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall 201

In some places if a voter may vote for two or three persons for a certain office, he is allowed to cast all his votes for one candidate. This is called *cumulative voting*. It aims to secure *proportional representation*, so that all the offices may not go to the most numerous party.

94. The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. — With the spread of the spirit of democracy it is only natural that people should like to have some part in the making of laws as well as in the election of officers. Since the New England town meeting is suitable for only a comparatively small community, a kind of substitute which can be used on a much wider scale has been employed. This has found con-

| REFERRED TO THE PEOPLE BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY | |
|--|------|
| Submitted by the Legislature—COMPULSORY VOTING AND REGISTRATION AMENDMENT—Purpose: To amend Section 2 of Article II of the constitution of the State of Oregon so that provisions may be made by law to require compulsory voting, to require registration in their respective election precincts by all persons who are entitled to vote, to permit such persons to cast their ballots by mail or otherwise, when necessary by reason of illness, or in case of absence from the voting precinct during the entire day of election, or service in the army, navy or marine of the United States. Vote YES or NO | |
| 300 | Yes. |
| 301 | No. |

A REFERENDUM VOTE.

siderable favor, especially in the West, where people are not afraid of a thing merely because it is new, and are willing to try experiments. This plan is not an American invention, for the initiative and referendum, as they are called, have been in use in Switzerland, New Zealand, and elsewhere for some time.

The *initiative* is the right given to a certain percentage of the voters to draw up a law or force the law-making body to draw up one, to be submitted to popular vote. The submitting of a measure to popular vote before it is to go into effect is known as the *referendum*.

Referendum votes on laws, constitutional amendments, and the like, are generally taken at the time of regular elections, and the measures to be voted on are printed on the

regular ballot. Special referendum elections,* however, are sometimes held. Several states make use of the referendum in matters such as constitutional amendments and laws of unusual importance, even though they do not permit the use of the initiative; but the initiative would not be of much use without the referendum.

Experience seems to show that the use of these political instruments should not be made too easy, lest a small group of "cranks" might bother the voters too frequently by compelling them to vote on hasty measures which they might not understand at all. But it is well to have these weapons available when a legislature neglects to pass laws which the people really want. The initiative and the referendum are likely to promote public interest and encourage intelligent thought on the part of voters.

Is a voter likely to act more wisely in voting on a law than in choosing a member of the legislature to do it for him?

The *recall* is often mentioned in connection with the initiative and referendum, though there is no necessity for doing so. The recall permits a certain percentage of the voters, by drawing up a petition, to force an officeholder to submit to a special election before the end of the term for which he was elected. The result of the election determines whether he shall serve out the term or give way to some one else.

It is open to the criticism that it may make voters less careful about electing their officers in the first place and may be employed to make trouble for a good official whose duty has forced him to do a thing that was unpopular with a certain class. But since the process of impeachment (§120) is so difficult to use, it is possible that the recall, if safeguarded so that it could not be used recklessly, would be a desirable weapon to have at hand in case of an emergency.

. . . The selection of our officials is one of our most important duties as a people. Political parties may be good or bad, depending upon the interest and sincerity displayed by every voter. Voters are prone

to criticize others for not doing the very things they neglect themselves.

QUESTIONS

Why do we have political parties? To what extent may they be harmful? Explain how parties are managed. Define *platform*; *boss*; *caucus*; *convention*.

What does *nomination* mean? Explain *direct primaries*. In what ways are they better than the convention system for nominating candidates?

What is a *campaign*? How is it and how should it be conducted? Give your opinion about the use of money in trying to elect people to office.

When are elections held? Describe the holding of an election. Visit an election when it is under way if you can. How and when may we know what candidates are successful?

Who has the right to vote in your state? Who decides this? How much does the national government have to say about the matter? What is *registration* and why do we have it?

Explain the Australian ballot and state its merits over the methods of voting formerly used. Compare the forms of ballots shown or explained in the text and give your opinion as to which is best. Which of these forms is most nearly like that used in your own state?

Define *initiative*; *referendum*; *recall*; *short ballot*; *preferential ballot*; *proportional representation*. Give your opinion of each of them.

What methods are used for selecting public officers? Which do you consider the best? Would it be best in all cases?

SPECIAL TOPICS

How Political Parties Came into Existence in the United States.
What the Parties of To-day Represent.

Famous Presidential Campaigns.

The Story of Woman Suffrage, at Home and Abroad.

A Debate on the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, or the Short Ballot.

A debate on the question: Resolved, that elections for state or local offices should be on a non-partisan basis.

Resolved, that all qualified persons who fail to vote at an election should be fined.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Reed : Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 6-8.

Magruder : American Government, Chapters 17, 25, 26.

Beard : American City Government, Chapter 3.

Beard : American Citizenship, Chapters 6, 12, 13.

Lessons in Community and National Life, A-19.

Haskin : American Government, Chapter 31.

Bryce : The American Commonwealth, Chapters 53-68.

Munro : Government of the United States, Chapters 22, 23, 33, 35.

Sample ballots and other forms for nominations and elections.

Printed matter issued by party campaign committees.

CHAPTER XIV

MAKING OUR NATION'S LAWS

We have been taught to regard a representative of the people as a sentinel in the watchtower of liberty. — Webster.

A progressive nation must abide by the laws which are made for its welfare. Who make our nation's laws and how do they go about their work?

95. Congress and Congressmen. — The law-making branch of our national government is known as the Congress, and consists of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. There are several reasons why our constitution-makers provided two houses instead of one.

The British Parliament, with its House of Lords and House of Commons, was to some extent looked upon as a pattern, though there are very many respects in which no likeness exists between those two bodies and the divisions of our Congress. Most of the states also had two houses in their legislatures. The opinion prevailed, too, that it was well to have two houses so that one might check the other and prevent the passage of some laws which might not be necessary or desirable.

Each house is given by the Constitution certain special powers in which the other has no part. In impeachment proceedings, for example (§120), the House of Representatives has the right to bring formal charges of misconduct against a federal officer; then the duty of trying the accused official and deciding upon his guilt or innocence rests with the Senate alone. A two-thirds vote of the Senate is necessary to secure conviction.

In case no candidate for president or vice president secures a majority of votes of the presidential electors (§ 104), the Senate chooses the Vice President, and the House, the President.

Only the House may introduce bills for raising revenue to carry on the government, on the theory that the people can control the House more directly and that the people should determine for themselves as far as possible when and how they should be taxed. But this power does not really amount to very much, for the Senate may amend revenue bills the same as any other bills coming from the House, and it sometimes amends them out of all likeness to the original.

In two matters the Senate alone has the power to act. Most appointments to office which the President makes must have the approval of the Senate, which gains thereby considerable political influence. Treaties, which are made under the President's direction, must also be ratified by the Senate. In this case a two-thirds vote is needed. Much weight in determining the foreign policy of the country may through this means be exercised by the Senate.

In one sense it would be incorrect to speak of one house as being more powerful than the other, since each may and often does defeat bills that have been passed by the other. But the Senate always has a larger proportion of experienced politicians in its membership; it has a more permanent and complete organization; and its members, being fewer in number, have a better chance of becoming known individually to the whole country. For these and other reasons the Senate has acquired somewhat greater prestige than the House. If the two houses disagree over some important matter the Senate more often than the House gets its own way in the end.

The Constitution declares that members of Congress shall be paid a salary out of the national treasury. At first it was fixed by law at \$6 a day, but has now been raised to \$10,000 a

year. This is supplemented by various extras, such as a private secretary at \$3200 a year, mileage to and from Washington at the beginning and end of a session, free stationery, and the "franking" privilege of sending mail free which deals with public business. The salary is not enormous, it is true, but it is more than some Congressmen could get at anything else, and with economy a Congressman can live on it very comfortably in Washington.

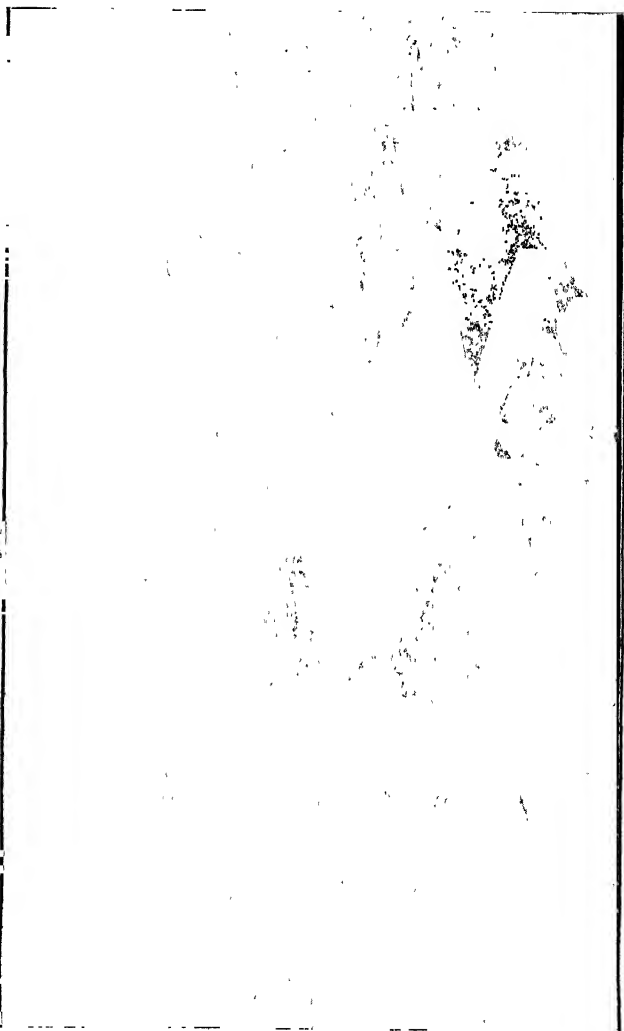
In order to prevent the bringing of private lawsuits or other legal obstacles to hinder a Congressman's attendance upon his duties, the Constitution provides that a member shall be free from arrest while present at the sessions of Congress and while going to and from them, unless he commits a crime himself.

To encourage the freest possible discussion of matters in Congress, no member can be called to account outside of Congress for anything he says while there. The house to which he belongs may punish him for abusing this privilege, but no one who feels injured by something a Congressman has said can proceed against him personally unless the objectionable remarks were made outside of Congress.

No member of Congress may hold any other office under the United States at the same time. He may, however, resign from Congress and then take another office. But not even this is permitted if the office was created or if its salary was increased during the time for which the person was elected to Congress. If this restriction did not exist, Congressmen might cause salaries to be raised or new offices established for the special purpose of getting them.

If a Congressman in a speech on the floor of the House accused the President's wife of being a thief, what, if anything, could be done about it? A Congressman in Washington once shot a man in a street car. Could anything be done to him?

96. The Senate and the Senators.—The voters in each state elect two senators for a term of six years. In order to prevent great changes in the membership of the Senate, and to



THE CAPITOL AND ITS SURROUNDINGS FROM THE AIR.

You will easily recognize the Capitol. Plainly visible also are the Union Station, the Senate office building, the Congressional Library, and the House office building.

keep it a kind of conservative body, it is provided that the senators shall be grouped into three classes, and the terms of each class shall expire two years apart. By this plan only one senator from a state is elected at one time, except when a new state comes into the Union or when an unexpected vacancy occurs through death or resignation. At least two-thirds of the senators will always have had two or more years' experience in the office.

Each senator must be at least thirty years old, a citizen of the United States for nine years, and a resident of the state which he represents.

How many senators were there in 1789? how many to-day? Who are the senators from your state, and when do their terms expire?

The presiding officer in the Senate is the Vice President, who takes no part in debate, and votes only when there is a tie. The Senate elects one of its own members as president *pro tempore*, who presides when the Vice President is absent, and who becomes the permanent presiding officer if the vice-presidency is vacant. The Senate also has a secretary, a doorkeeper, a postmaster, a chaplain, and a sergeant-at-arms. The duties of the latter are to keep order, hunt up absent members, and the like.

97. The House of Representatives. — The number of representatives from a state depends upon its population. Each state has at least one. New York has the largest number — at present forty-three. The total membership now is 435. A census of the whole country is taken every tenth year (1910, 1920, etc.), and after the count of the population is finished, Congress passes an "apportionment" law, saying how many representatives each state shall have for the next ten years.

The state legislature is supposed to divide the state into as many districts as there are representatives to be chosen and then the voters in each district elect a representative. It sometimes happens that when Congress passes a new appor-

tionment bill and adds one member or more to the number of representatives to which a state is entitled, the legislature does not divide up the state again promptly into representative districts. In such a case any additional new members are chosen by vote of the whole state until the state has been redistricted. A member so elected is known as a *Congressman-at-large*.

The fairest way to district a state is to make the districts nearly equal in population and composed of compact territory. But legislatures sometimes try to give a certain party control of more districts than it deserves by making these districts of queer shapes and uneven population. Somebody invented the word "gerrymander" to apply to this practice. Happily the gerrymander is less common than formerly.

Make a map that will show whether your state is gerrymandered.

The term of representatives is two years, and theoretically the entire House could be changed at once. Its members must be twenty-five years of age, citizens of the United States for seven years, and must live in the state from which they are elected.

By custom they generally do live in the districts which they represent, though this is not necessary. The English custom by which a district may elect anybody from anywhere to represent it has the advantage of keeping the strong men of all parties in office all the time, but the idea has never been popular in this country.

Why do you suppose the age requirement and length of term for representatives are less than those for senators?

How many representatives does your state send to Congress? Name those who represent districts near you. What political ideas do they stand for? Is there any valid objection to the English custom in regard to the residence of representatives?

Up to 1923 only four women had been elected to Congress. Is there any reason why women should not be chosen?

In the House the regular presiding officer is the Speaker. He is elected from the House itself and is usually the leader

of the majority party there. The position is one of much importance, though its powers have been reduced in recent years. No member may speak or offer a motion unless he is recognized by the Speaker, and the Speaker also makes rulings on points of order, on referring bills to committees, and the like, which indirectly may have an important effect on a bill's chances of becoming a law.

Is it better that the Speaker should be a mere presiding officer or that he should have extensive powers?

The House has a clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, and other officers like the Senate.

98. Rules and Customs of Congress. — Regular elections for members of Congress are held in November of the even years, and persons chosen at that time begin their terms on the 4th of March following. The life of a single Congress is reckoned from March 4 of an odd year until March 4 two years later, since the Representatives are elected for that period only. A Congress is referred to by number, reckoned by counting the years from 1789 until the year when the term of its Representatives expires, and dividing by two.

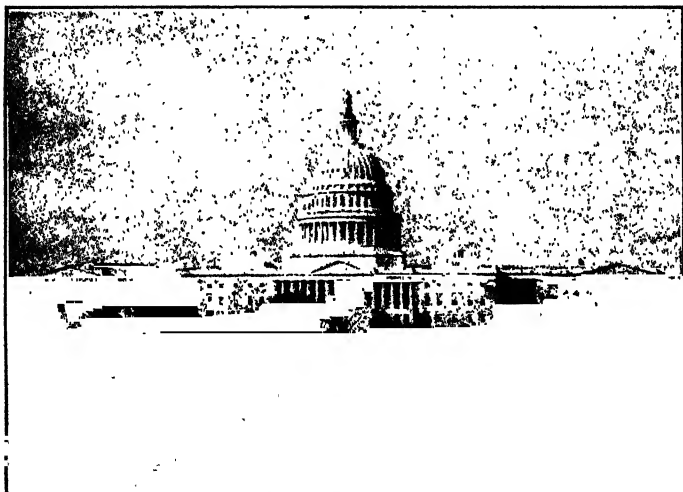
During the life of a Congress two regular sessions are held. One, known as the long session, begins on the first Monday of December of the odd years, and lasts until the houses get ready to adjourn — generally during the following spring or summer. The short session begins on the first Monday of December in the even years, and must end on the next 4th of March at noon, as the terms of its Representatives expire then. The session beginning December 3, 1923, was therefore the first regular, or long, session of the 68th Congress.

Is there any sense in not having Congress assemble until the December after they take office? Would you favor a constitutional amendment which would put the President and Congressmen into office in the January after their election?

The President sometimes calls Congress together in a special session, as he has the right to do whenever he thinks

the public interest demands it. He may also summon the Senate alone for brief special sessions when treaties or appointments are to be considered, as the House has nothing directly to do with these.

Each house is the judge of the qualifications and conduct of its own members. If a person is a known lawbreaker, or if his election was obtained by dishonest methods, he may be refused admission. If two persons claim to have been



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

elected to the same seat, the house which is concerned decides whom to admit. Perhaps this matter would have been better left to the courts, for now the vote in such cases is generally along party lines. Each house may also reprimand or even expel a member for improper conduct. But a two-thirds vote is required for expulsion, so as to make it unlikely that a member will be expelled merely to secure party advantage.

A majority of members is necessary to make up a *quorum* — that is, the number who must be present in order to carry

on business legally. If a sufficient number are not on hand, those who are present may have the absent members brought in. In the House, too, the presiding officer counts every member as present if he is in the hall, even though he does not vote.

Each house keeps a journal, or official record, of its proceedings, and has it printed in that extraordinary publication known as the *Congressional Record*. This is supposed to be a word for word account of everything said in the sessions, and parts of it may be printed separately and sent out free of postage. Congressmen often abuse this privilege by getting "leave to print" or to "extend their remarks in the *Record*." Thus they get everything they want printed at very little expense, and send back to the admiring folks at home copies of long speeches which were never delivered at all. This is particularly common when a congressman is running for reëlection.

Each house also makes its own rules of order. These differ in some notable respects, for things often need to be done differently in a body of fewer than a hundred men than in an assembly of over four hundred. The House adopts a set of rules at the beginning of each new Congress, although these generally do not differ very much from those of the preceding Congress. The rules of the Senate continue unchanged except when the Senate takes special action to alter them.

In the House, the time that any member may occupy in debate is definitely limited, and all debate may be cut off by carrying the parliamentary motion known as the *previous question*. In the Senate, however, debate can be limited only through an agreement signed by two-thirds of the members. This privilege is supposed to make possible the bringing out of all possible arguments on a disputed question, though it is doubtful whether the votes of many senators are ever changed by the long-winded discussions that sometimes occur.

Occasionally, notably near the end of a session of Congress, a trick known as "filibustering" is undertaken. By talking indefinitely and doing other things to take up time, a very few senators have been able to defeat measures desired by a great majority of the whole body. A senator once talked twenty hours consecutively.

99. The Committee System in Law-making. — A very large part of the business of Congress is done through committees. When a new Congress begins, a large number of standing committees are organized in each house to deal with certain kinds of business, as Interstate and Foreign Commerce, or Post Offices and Post Roads. Whenever a bill is introduced it is referred to one of these committees. In the House the Ways and Means Committee, which considers all tax laws, is regarded as the most important, and the chairmanship of this committee is an honor second only to that of Speaker. The Committee on Rules has almost arbitrary powers in directing the business of the House. Membership on these committees is really determined by the leaders of the parties in Congress, members with the longest service being considered first. The majority party keeps the control of all the important committees in its own hands.

Since many thousands of bills are introduced in every Congress, it would be absolutely impossible to allow every bill to be debated by the whole membership. Each committee selects from the bills which are referred to it the ones which it wishes to act on, and ignores the rest. Good bills as well as bad ones may be "killed" by a committee's refusal to consider them. But we have to put up with this disadvantage in order to get anything done at all.

Find out the names of the chief standing committees of the two houses of Congress. Do any of the members from your state hold prominent positions on them? How many bills were introduced into the last Congress? From any list which you can secure, judge how many bills were really of public importance.

100. Steps in Enacting a Law. — The ordinary process which a bill goes through in order to become a law is about as follows: It may be introduced by any member of either house, unless it is a revenue bill, which must come from the House of Representatives. Then the presiding officer refers it to the committee which considers that kind of bills. At this point the great mass of all bills quietly meet a peaceful death. The committee does nothing with them and they are never heard of again.

[If the committee decides that the bill ought to receive further consideration, they will report it favorably to the house, perhaps offering some amendments. After the report, the bill is put upon the calendar, to wait its turn.

When that time comes, it may be debated and perhaps amended. The greater part of the discussion is carried on while the House is meeting under the name of the "committee of the whole." At such times greater freedom in debate is allowed, and no record is kept of the way individual members vote. As a result many changes are made which would not occur if a public record were kept of such votes.

The form of the bill when first printed is much like that on page 173.

The final vote on a bill, however, is almost always taken by roll call of the members. If a majority of the members present and voting are then in favor of it, it is passed, as far as that house is concerned.

All this has taken place in the house where the bill was introduced. Then it goes to the other house and must run an exactly similar gauntlet there. If it is amended in the least, it must go back to the first house for its agreement. If the first house does not agree to the changes, a special *conference committee*, made up of members from both houses, will try to harmonize the differences between them. If the bill is at last agreed to by both houses in exactly the same form, it is sent to the President.

After a bill gets to the President, there are three ways by which it may become a law: (1) He may indicate his approval by signing it. (2) He may keep it 10 days without taking any action on it. Treatment of this kind would indicate that there were some features about it which he did not like, but that for some reason he did not care to prevent its passage. (3) He may veto the bill, sending it back without his signature to the house where it was introduced, with a message telling why he disapproved it. Then the two houses by a two-thirds vote can pass it over his veto. This rarely happens.

If the President vetoes a bill and either house cannot give a two-thirds vote in its favor, the bill is dead, for that session at least. And any bills which are sent to the President less than ten days before a session of Congress, and which he does not sign, are considered dead. To put an end to a bill in this way is known as a "pocket veto."

Find out what is meant by *lobbying* and *log-rolling*. In some states it is required that lobbyists must register with some legislative official. Do you approve the plan? Draw up a bill for introduction in your legislature or in Congress. Hold a mock session for the discussion of the bills which the class presents.

101. The Powers of Congress. — In Article I, Section 8, of our national Constitution, we have a long list of powers granted to Congress. In several other places there are various other powers which might have been very profitably included in this list. Taken together, these may be properly considered the powers of the federal government, for no federal officers except the President and Vice President can have anything to do until Congress has passed laws authorizing them to do something. We may classify the powers given to Congress by the Constitution as follows:

(1) *Financial* — to lay and collect practically all taxes except taxes on exports; to borrow money — usually through selling bonds; to coin money; to regulate its value and the value of foreign money; to provide for the punishment of counterfeiters.

(2) *Military* — to provide for an army and navy, but appropriations for this purpose may not be for more than two years at a time; to provide for the calling out of the militia of the states and to make rules for their government; to declare war; to make rules in regard to captures in war; to grant letters of marque and reprisal, but since this really means authorizing privateering it is not likely to be done again.

(3) *Territorial* — to make all laws for territory belonging to the United States; to admit new states; to govern the District of Columbia, and any other property used for governmental purposes.

(4) *Commercial* — to regulate interstate commerce, commerce with foreign countries and commerce with the Indian tribes; to establish post offices and post roads; to enact patent and copyright laws; to fix the standard of weights and measures; to make laws governing bankruptcy.

(5) *Political* — to pass naturalization laws (§ 131); to determine the punishment for treason, offenses committed on sea, and offenses against international law; to organize courts below the Supreme Court, and to regulate the conditions under which the federal courts may operate; by a two-thirds vote to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

(6) *General* — “to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution” in any federal officer or department.

This last clause, sometimes called the “elastic clause,” was responsible for some violent argument in the early days under our Constitution. One group of people argued that the powers of the Constitution should be construed strictly, and maintained that the federal government should do only those things which the Constitution specifically authorized it to do. Others urged the “broad construction” theory, and asserted that anything was permissible that would carry out the powers granted by the Constitution. During the long term of Chief Justice Marshall the Supreme Court rendered a number of decisions in which it positively set forth the broad construction view. To-day we would not think of questioning this interpretation, though Congress has not exercised fully all the powers that have been given to it.

Every law of our government must go through a certain process before becoming a statute. The organization and work of our law-making bodies are partly laid down in our Constitution and partly the outgrowth of custom.

QUESTIONS

Why was our present national Constitution made? When and where? From what sources did its makers get their ideas? Did they do good work?

Of what is Congress composed? Why was this form adopted?

State the special powers possessed by each house which the other does not have. Why does the Senate enjoy somewhat greater prestige than the House?

What compensation do Congressmen get? Do you think it is large enough? What privileges do Congressmen enjoy by virtue of holding their office? What limitations are placed upon their holding other offices?

Who constitute the Senate? What qualifications must they have? How are they chosen and for how long?

How many representatives are there and how is their number determined? Compare their qualifications, term, and method of choice with the Senate. Define *gerrymander*.

Who are the presiding officers of the two houses, and what is the importance of their positions? What minor officers does each house have?

Explain the custom and law in regard to the sessions of Congress. What is the number of the session now going on or most recently held? When was the last special session called and why?

What control does Congress have over its members? Explain *quorum*. What is the *Congressional Record*? Mention some significant customs concerning debate.

What is the purpose of the committees? How are they made up?

Trace the complete process of enacting a bill into law, noting (1) the action by the house where it was introduced, (2) further consideration by Congress, (3) the connection of the President with lawmaking. Define *conference committee*, *pocket veto*.

Mention the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution. Take some list of acts passed by a session of Congress and see what clauses of the Constitution would justify each particular act. Explain *broad construction* and *strict construction*.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Constitutional Convention of 1787.

A Day's Work in Congress.

What a Congressman Has to Do.

Leading Members of the Present Congress.

The Speaker and His Power.
Some Famous Speakers.
The Committees of Congress.
The Congressman from Our District.
The Senators from Our State.

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Haskin : American Government, Chapters 20-22.
Lessons in Community and National Life, B-17, B-18.
Haines : Your Congress.
Bryce : American Commonwealth, Chapters 10-20.
Munro : Government of the United States, Chapters 10-14, 21,
29.

CHAPTER XV

OUR CHIEF EXECUTIVE

A great man is made up of qualities that meet and make great occasions. — Lowell.

The head of a great government ought to be both respectable and respected. Is our President a figure-head or a real power? How is he chosen? What are the responsibilities of the Presidential office?

102. The Importance of the President. — The President is elected indirectly by the people and after he has held the office he retires to live among them again like any other man. But while he is in office he represents the power of the nation in action, and no monarch who inherits his office, in any government in all the world, possesses as much real authority.

The enforcement of the laws at home, the protection of the honor and dignity of the nation in its relations with other countries, the spirit and motives which shall rule our national policies, all depend in large measure upon the character and ability of the man who lives at the White House in Washington. It is right that the American people should feel that the election of any president may be the making or wrecking of a nation's opportunities for greatness or service, and it is not strange that every other civilized nation feels a deep interest in the outcome of our presidential campaigns.

103. The Term and Requirements of the President. — The President is elected for a term of four years. The Constitution says nothing about reelection, leaving the matter open for the people to do as they please. Nine of our presidents have been honored in this way. Chiefly because Washington, the first president, refused to take more than

Term and Requirements of the President 221

two terms, no other man has received more than that number. But all the attempts to alter the Constitution so as to forbid reelection after one or two terms have failed. The people seem to feel that, whatever their custom may be, it would not be wise to give up wholly the right to elect a man as often as they please, if circumstances should appear to require it.

The suggestion has been made that the term should be extended to six years and no reelection allowed. What advantages or disadvantages do you see in this plan? Would a business firm choose a general manager on such a principle?

The President must be 35 years old, a native-born American citizen, and a resident of this country for 14 years. They are generally considerably older than 35. Roosevelt, who was not quite 43 when he became president, was the nearest to the age limit, although some have been nominated when even younger than Roosevelt was. Do you see any particular purpose in these requirements?

The President's term begins on the 4th of March of the year following leap year. His formal inauguration, or introduction to office, is witnessed by many thousands of people from all parts of the country. His inaugural address is sometimes an important discussion of national policies to be followed by his administration, as in the case of Lincoln in 1861.

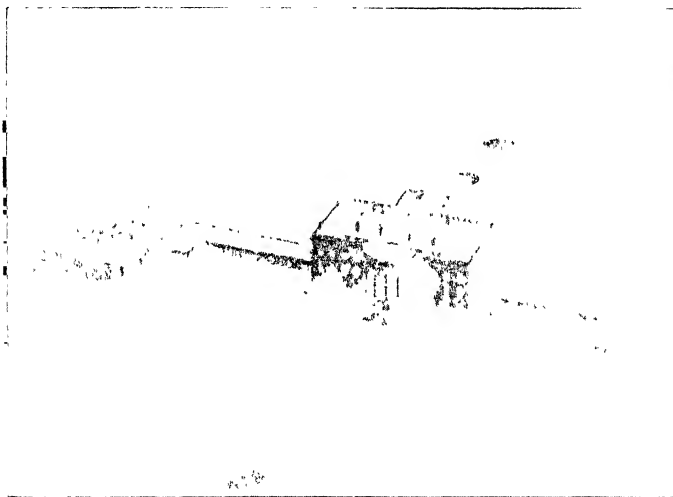
The President's official residence in Washington is known as the White House. Connected with it are the executive offices managed by the President's secretary and assistants. The expense for the salaries of the secretaries, the maintenance of the offices, the conservatories, and other features of the presidential residence are met from the national treasury.

As a personal salary the President receives \$75,000 a year. This sum is small in comparison with what the heads of most governments receive. People like to have the President do considerable traveling and visiting in different sections of

the country. He is therefore allowed in addition whatever he spends for traveling up to \$25,000.

Would there be anything wrong in a President's accepting free transportation from the railroads? President Coolidge was sworn into office by his own father. How could that happen? Who usually performs the ceremony?

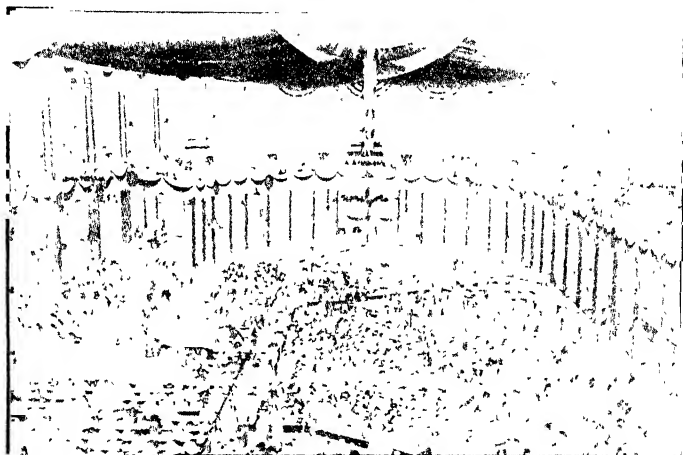
104. How the President Is Chosen.—No part of the Constitution has worked as little in the way its makers expected as the method provided for electing the President.



THE WHITE HOUSE—THE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE.

They planned that a body of electors, specially chosen for intelligence and judgment, should carefully weigh the merits of public men and vote according to their independent convictions for men to serve as president and vice president. To-day, while the forms laid down in the Constitution are strictly observed, the electors are merely agents who vote as a matter of course for candidates who have been nominated beforehand by some political party. The process of selecting a president now includes the following steps:

(1) *The nomination of candidates.* In the month of June or July in every fourth year each great political party holds a national convention in some large city. Delegates to attend a party convention are chosen in each state by the members of the party in such a way as the laws of that state authorize or allow. Several candidates may be proposed before the convention by delegates from the different states. If more than one candidate is presented, the delegates take a formal ballot. As many as 103 ballots have



A PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTION.

been taken before a candidate was nominated. The Republicans require only a majority of delegates to make the nomination, but the Democrats require a two-thirds vote. A candidate for vice president is also selected. Before or after the nominations are made, a platform, or official statement of party principles, is adopted.

One might suppose that each party would try to pick out its ablest and wisest members to put before the nation as its candidates for high office, but frequently this is not done. A great man, because of his positive views on disputed

questions, may have made more enemies than a less prominent man would have and therefore the great man might not get so many votes as a less known candidate. Sometimes a candidate is favored who lives in a large state like New York or a state like Indiana which is likely to be evenly divided between the two great parties, in the hope that he will win this doubtful state for the party.

Sometimes when different factions in a party have been fighting desperately to nominate a candidate of their own faction, a compromise is made by nominating a "dark horse," that is, some one who had not been mentioned prominently, if at all, in connection with the nomination. And many an influence unknown to the party at large finds its secret way to turn the action of a convention in a direction which even the convention may not fully realize.

(2) *The choice of electors.* The Constitution requires each state to choose a group of presidential electors equal in number to the senators and representatives from that state in Congress. The total number at present is 531. In such a way as the laws of a state may require, each party nominates a list of candidates for presidential electors. On the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November the voters of each state choose the electors for that state.

Each voter may vote for the entire number of electors to which his state is entitled. By custom and common consent it is understood that the Republican electors, for example, if they are chosen, will vote for the candidates already nominated by the national convention. A voter who favors election of the Republican candidates for president and vice president will therefore, if he has good sense, vote for the whole list of electors nominated by that party; for the personal qualities of the electors are of no importance, as they have nothing to do now but to perform a certain formal duty.

This November election is the decisive feature of the whole process. It follows a period of several months in which all kinds of efforts have been made to win votes. Unless the

election is very close, it will probably be known during the evening of election day in almost every community which party has been successful in most of the different states and who will therefore be the next president. Most of the rest of the process which we are describing might as well be omitted as far as it has any real importance. But the Constitution provides it, and so it is carried out in due form.

Notice that except in very unusual circumstances the electoral vote of a state will be cast solidly for one candidate, even though his popular vote in that state may be only a little larger than that of some other candidate. Would it be possible for a candidate to get a majority of the electoral vote who did not stand first in the popular vote for the entire country? Prove your answer from our history.

(3) *Voting by the electors.* The electors in each state meet at their state capitol on the second Monday of the following January and cast their votes for the candidates of the parties which they represent. They make out three reports of their balloting and send two of them to the presiding officer of the Senate at Washington. The third is left with the United States district judge in whose district they meet.

(4) *Counting the electoral votes.* On the second Wednesday in February both houses of Congress meet in the hall of the House of Representatives and in their presence the presiding officer of the Senate opens the returns and causes them to be formally counted. If it appears from this useless ceremony that some person has received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes for president or vice president, he is declared elected.

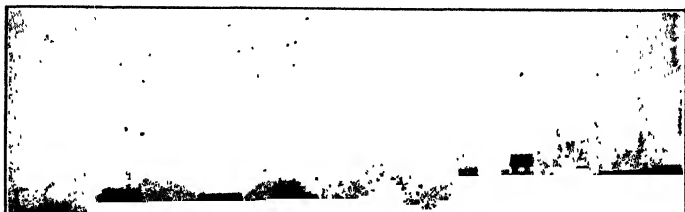
(5) *Special election by the Houses.* If, however, no candidate for president has a majority, the election is referred to the House of Representatives, which will elect one of the three highest candidates. In this case the members vote by states, not as individuals. This has not happened since 1825, when John Quincy Adams was elected. If no one has a majority for Vice President, the Senate makes the choice,

voting individually. Richard M. Johnson was elected this way in 1837 — the only time it has occurred.

How much of this process of choosing the president could be safely done away with? Do you think of any possible improvements in any step of the process?

Review the story of the presidential election of 1876. How did the Electoral Count Act of 1886 aim to prevent the repetition of the events of 1876-1877?

105. Filling Vacancies in the Presidency. — If the President dies, resigns, or is removed, the Vice President becomes



PRESIDENT HARDING'S FUNERAL CAR AT CUMBERLAND, MARYLAND.

Most of this great crowd had not seen Mr. Harding, but they felt that he was their President and turned out to pay a silent tribute.

President. He also will act as President if that officer is temporarily unable to serve for any reason, though thus far no occasion has arisen to make this necessary. It is evident that the office of Vice President ought to be filled with almost as much care as is shown in choosing the President himself.

The sad experience of the Whig party with Tyler and the Republicans with Johnson when those men unexpectedly became president ought to have taught parties to be careful in making nominations for the vice presidency. But in practice the candidates for this office are selected to represent a certain state or section or a disappointed faction of a party more often than for any other reasons.

Like an extra wheel on an automobile, a place has to be found to put the Vice President while waiting for an emergency in which he may be used. The Constitution therefore makes him the regular presiding officer of the Senate. The place is not attractive for an active man, and some really able men have declined nominations for the position. The salary is \$15,000.

What vice presidents became "accidental" presidents? Can you think of any way of increasing the dignity of the office of Vice President? Suppose there were any question as to a president's "inability" to serve. How ought the matter to be decided?

The Constitution gives Congress the power to arrange for the filling of vacancies in the presidency that may occur when the vice presidency is itself vacant. The law now in force provides that the heads of the executive departments, commonly known as the *Cabinet*, shall form the line of succession, as far as those departments were in existence when the law was passed. The Secretary of State heads the list, followed by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior.

Why is it unlikely that any one further down the list than Secretary of State will ever act as president?

If the successful presidential candidate should die between the November election and the second Monday of January, what do you suppose would be done about it? What if he should die between the latter date and the 4th of March?

106. Powers and Duties of the President. — While the president is primarily the "chief executive" of the nation

he has some duties connected with law-making and some few of a judicial nature.

(1) It is his duty to see that "the laws be faithfully executed."

He can actually do very little of this kind of work himself, but his attitude toward the enforcement of laws and toward the faithful performance of duty by subordinate officers will have a tremendous moral effect upon the whole administration of the government.

(2) He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the state militia when called into the federal service.

He may use this power in any way that is necessary to make the laws of the country obeyed. Although a declaration of war can come only from Congress, the President could so use the army and navy as to make war almost inevitable. No president has ever abused this power, but if he should try to do so Congress could restrain him either by impeaching him or by refusing to spend more money on the army and navy.

Could the President take actual command of an army in the field in time of war? Would he be likely to want to do so?

(3) He appoints all officers of the United States whose appointments are not otherwise provided for, subject, with some exceptions, to the approval of the Senate.

Such appointments made when the Senate is not in session will hold good until the close of the next session of that body. The requirement of the Senate's approval has led to the practice known as "Senatorial courtesy." In accordance with this notion, if a man appointed to office is not satisfactory to the senators from his state he may be rejected without regard to his fitness for the position. Presidents of course make occasional mistakes in appointments, and it may be well to have a check upon them. But it is nothing short of disgusting to witness the Senate rejecting a good man merely because a senator has a personal spite against him.

Along with the power of appointment goes the duty of signing the commissions of officers and the power to remove them from office. This rests entirely with the President. Federal judges, however, though appointed by him, can be removed only by impeachment.

(4) He may make treaties with foreign countries.

As there is no limit to the subjects with which a treaty may deal, from the protection of game birds to the buying of provinces, a wide field is opened in which the President may undertake acts of far-reaching importance. In this matter, as in making appointments, the approval of the Senate is necessary, and here a two-thirds vote is required. In making treaties, therefore, the attitude of the Senate must always be kept in mind.

Frequently the President directs the Secretary of State, one of our foreign ministers, or some persons specially appointed, to do the actual work of treaty-making. A treaty is often named after some one who has had a hand in making it.

Do you think it is wise to tie the President's hands somewhat in treaty-making by requiring ratification by the Senate? Most countries do not do that way. Would it be better if only a majority vote were required?

(5) He decides whether to receive persons sent from other countries as ambassadors or ministers.

The use of this power often determines whether another country shall be recognized as independent or which of two contending parties shall be regarded by the United States as the lawful ruler in some other country. It might happen that so serious a question as peace or war could turn on the President's decision in exercising this power.

(6) He must act upon all measures passed by Congress.

Since it is very rare that a two-thirds vote can be secured in Congress to pass a bill over his veto, this power gives the President much to say about law-making. Cleveland vetoed several times as many bills as all other presidents put together, but they were largely private pension bills. Some presidents get the same results by notifying the leaders in Congress privately that a certain bill will be vetoed if passed, and urging them not to allow it to get through Congress.

(7) He prepares a message to Congress at the beginning of each session and at such other times as he thinks desirable.

The chief object of this is to recommend some matter for Congress to act on, though sometimes, as the Constitution suggests, he may give some "information of the state of the Union" which they do not receive through the newspapers or otherwise. In order to

obtain such information himself, he may require reports from the heads of the departments under his supervision on matters which concern their departments.

For a long time the presidents, beginning with Jefferson, who was not a good speaker, sent these messages in writing. But President Wilson, believing that a message delivered in person would receive much better attention, restored the custom of the first two presidents of presenting his messages before the houses meeting in joint session.

(8) He may call a special session of Congress when he thinks the needs of the country demand it. If the two



PRESIDENT HARDING ADDRESSING CONGRESS.

houses disagree about the time of adjournment, the President may fix the date.

(9) He may grant reprieves and pardons to persons convicted of crimes against federal laws.

A *reprieve* is a delay in carrying out a sentence. A *pardon* releases a person from whatever part of a sentence has not been carried out. He may also exercise the power of *commutation*, that is, making a sentence less severe. This form of judicial authority is a survival of one of the old powers of the English king. It does not extend to cases where an official has been impeached, else one of the checks which Congress has upon the other two departments would

be made almost worthless. This power might be abused by a president to set lawbreakers free, but no one has ever done so or is likely to do so.

In fact, the worst charge that can be truthfully made against any of our presidents is that they have made mistakes, and have at times done the thing that seemed most advantageous politically rather than that which demanded the highest moral courage. But they will compare more than favorably with any line of rulers that any other country has ever had.

Is there any respect in which you think the power of the President should be increased or diminished? Mention some important occasions when the action of the President determined the course of American History. What questions of precedent or authority were raised by President Wilson's participation in the Peace Conference at Paris?

. . . The executive branch of our government is headed by one official, the President. On him rests the chief responsibility for the administration of laws. Therefore it is highly important that we be careful in selecting the man who is to hold such a position.

QUESTIONS

Why is the office of President important? Compare it with positions of prominence in other countries.

Explain the law and custom in regard to the President's term. Do you think there should be a limit to a person's holding any office? Tell the main facts about the inauguration of the President. What compensation does he get for his services? Is it enough? What qualification must he possess? Why? Mr. Bryce has written on "Why Great Men are not Chosen President." Should that be taken as a reflection on the men who have served in that office? If not, what does it mean? Can you mention any cases when something else than real fitness for the office had something to do with the election?

How are presidential candidates nominated? Explain the electoral college, its numbers and its functions. Why is the vote of a state rarely divided? Wherein does the process you have described differ from what the makers of the Constitution intended? How large a vote of the electors is necessary to cause an election?

What happens if no candidate gets so many as that? When has such a thing occurred?

Should the office of Vice President command much respect? Does it? What is the order of succession to the presidency below the Vice President?

Summarize the powers and duties of the President. Are his powers limited more or less than they should be? What is the importance of the message and how is it delivered?

Define *reprieve*; *pardon*; *commutation*.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The White House.

The Life of the President.

Our Present President.

A Nominating Convention.

Some Notable Presidential Elections.

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Bryce: American Commonwealth, Chapters 5-8.

Munro: Government of the United States, Chapters 7-9.

CHAPTER XVI

CONDUCTING OUR GOVERNMENT'S BUSINESS

*For no one's favor, great or small,
But all for each and each for all. — Cooke.*

It would be silly to think that one man could do all the administrative work of such a great government as ours. What provision have we made for aids to the President? What is the Cabinet and how do the various departments and commissions work?

107. **The Place and Work of the Cabinet.** — It is a rather common custom to speak of a group of executive officers who all have some common relationship to one superior officer, as a *cabinet*. We find this word in business and social organizations as well as in the city, state, and national governments. We have already noticed that the English Cabinet (§ 74) not only is responsible for conducting the administration of business for the nation, but also directs the passage of all important laws.

In this country, however, our President's Cabinet has only about half the authority of that of the English Cabinet. There are now ten executive departments. The heads of these departments supervise the business of their own departments, and either as a group or individually act as advisors to the President. The President has a perfect right to do as he pleases about accepting their advice, and if a Cabinet member were to find himself in serious disagreement with the President over an important matter, he would probably resign his office of his own accord or by request. A cabinet member is appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate, and commonly holds office for a four-

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year term, unless he or the President sees fit to end it sooner. His salary is \$ 15,000 a year.

It seems queer that a body of such importance should not be mentioned in our Constitution. In Article II, Section 2, there are two references to the heads of departments, but not a word appears anywhere else to authorize the existence of the Cabinet. Each of the ten departments was established by a special law. The list of Cabinet officials is as follows :

- (1) Secretary of State.
- (2) Secretary of the Treasury.
- (3) Secretary of War.
- (4) Attorney-General.

(These four officials constituted the Cabinet in Washington's day ; the later ones were added at the dates mentioned.)

- (5) Secretary of the Navy (1798).
- (6) Postmaster-General (1829).

(This office had existed for some time but was not at first considered a Cabinet office.)

- (7) Secretary of the Interior (1849).
- (8) Secretary of Agriculture (1889).
- (9) Secretary of Commerce (1903).

(Originally called the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.)

- (10) Secretary of Labor (1913).

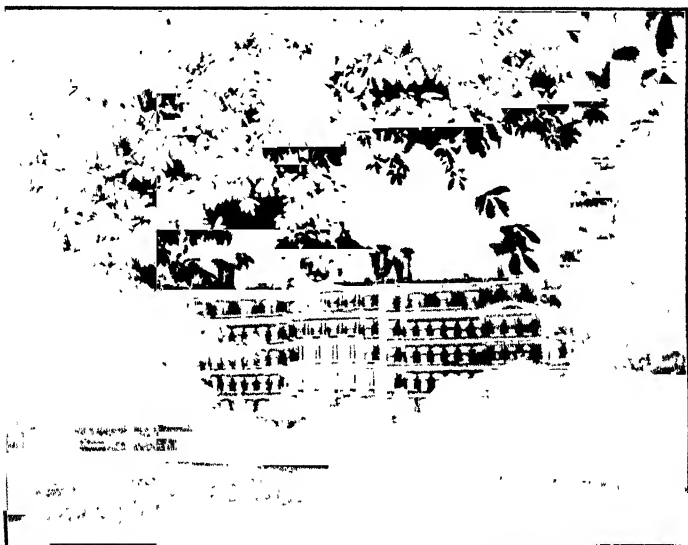
The Vice President is now invited by the President to attend the Cabinet meetings. As there is always a chance that he may become President, it is well that he should have some contact with the executive side of the country's business.

Who are the present members of the Cabinet? Recall any past Cabinet officers whose service was marked by notable accomplishments. Under what circumstances might Congress exercise some control over the Cabinet?

In the explanation of the work of the different departments we shall not try to give in detail the titles of all the numerous officers connected with them. Lists of such offices can be found in reference books such as the *World Almanac*. When a particular position seems to need special mention it will be well to find out who is the present holder of the office.

108. The State Department. — If there is any distinction in rank among the departments in the Cabinet, first mention should go to the Department of State. It has two kinds of work to perform, which do not have any necessary connection with each other.

(1) The department directs the administration of foreign affairs. It deals with foreign ministers to this country and has supervision over our own representatives in foreign



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THE STATE, WAR, AND NAVY BUILDING.

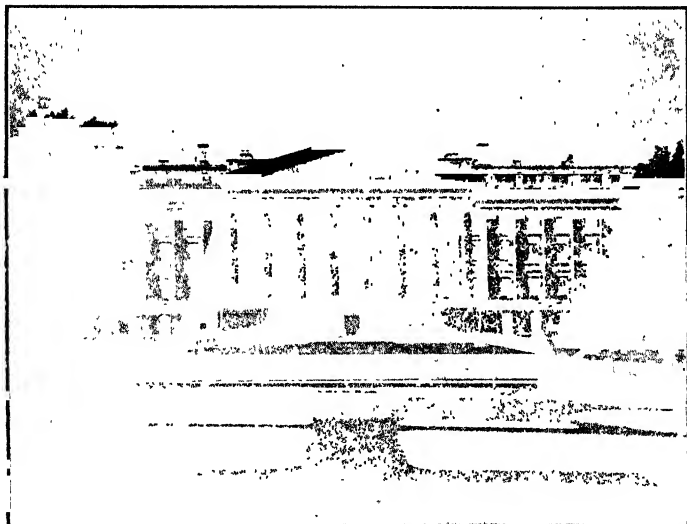
lands. It is frequently intrusted with the work of making treaties. The Secretary of State should be a skilled diplomat, and many of them have been so.

(2) The department has various clerical duties. It keeps the originals of all laws and treaties and causes copies of them to be published. It also has charge of the great seal of the United States, which must appear on the President's proclamations and on many other public documents.

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109. The Treasury Department.—The Department of the Treasury has the oversight of the financial affairs of the United States. The Secretary of the Treasury has general responsibility for the management of the entire department.

The Treasurer of the United States is in actual charge of the keeping of the government's money. The Comptroller of the Currency has special duties in connection with the national banks of the country. The Register of the Treasury



A FRONT VIEW OF THE TREASURY BUILDING.

keeps a record of all paper money, bonds, and the like, issued by the government.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue supervises the collection of internal taxes, such as those on tobacco and incomes. The Director of the Mint has charge of the coining of money, and the Superintendent of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing has charge of the printing of the paper money and certificates of all kinds.

The Bureau of the Budget, headed by the Director of the

Budget, makes and prepares for Congress each year an estimate of needed or desirable expenses.

110. The War Department and the Army.—The Department of War has charge of the United States Army and of activities connected with the national defense, such as the fortification of the coasts and the improvement of rivers and harbors. One of the greatest engineering works of all the ages, the Panama Canal, was constructed under the direction of Colonel George W. Goethals and his assistants from the Engineering Corps of the army.

At the head of the Department is the Secretary of War. He is not usually a military man.

The General Staff is a sort of connecting link between the War Department and the army itself. Its head is the Chief of Staff, who is, for the time being, the acting head of the army. The other members are army officers of different grades. Their work is to recommend plans for national defense, to make suggestions in regard to the needs of the army, and in general to harmonize the work of the department and the army.

All able-bodied men of the ages of 18 to 45 inclusive are legally included in the *militia*, and are therefore liable to be called on for military service in times of necessity. Their number to-day counts up over 20,000,000. The entry of the United States into the Great War was marked by one great change from our past custom. Instead of leaving military service to volunteers, all men within the militia age were, before the war was over, required to register and from these, with certain exemptions, troops were drawn.

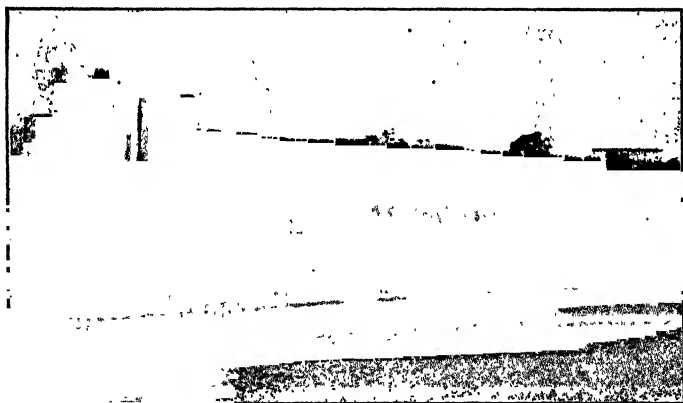
Our regular army has now a maximum of 175,000 men and the National Guard of the states may be brought into federal service when necessary. In addition to the supply of trained officers furnished by the National Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., special training camps for officers and men are held in the summer. Here men who are interested in military life or are impelled by a sense of duty to learn some-

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thing about it, are given an acquaintance with it without being required to enlist in the regular army.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is quoted as saying that compulsory military training for all men would be the strongest possible influence toward democracy. Do you agree with him? Why?

111. The Navy Department and the Navy.—This department has charge of the construction, equipment, and repair of war vessels, and the general direction of their opera-



WEST POINT.

Here is seen the United States Military Academy. The institution trains young men to become army officers. Most appointments to the academy are made under the direction of Congressmen.

tions. The Naval War College at Washington and the Naval Academy at Annapolis are also controlled by it.

There is a General Board, composed of officers whose duty it is to give advice and recommendations concerning the policy and management of the navy, but it is not at all the equivalent of the General Staff in the War Department, and each bureau in the Department operates more or less independently.

The opinion has been common in this country that a strong navy is more necessary to our safety than a strong

army, because most of the enemies whom we might have to meet could approach us only by sea. At the Washington Conference of 1921-1922 it was agreed that the United States Navy might be as large as that of Great Britain.

One unfortunate feature of naval construction is the cost of keeping a navy up to date. New inventions and improvements have followed each other so rapidly that a ship is



ADVERTISING THE MARINES.

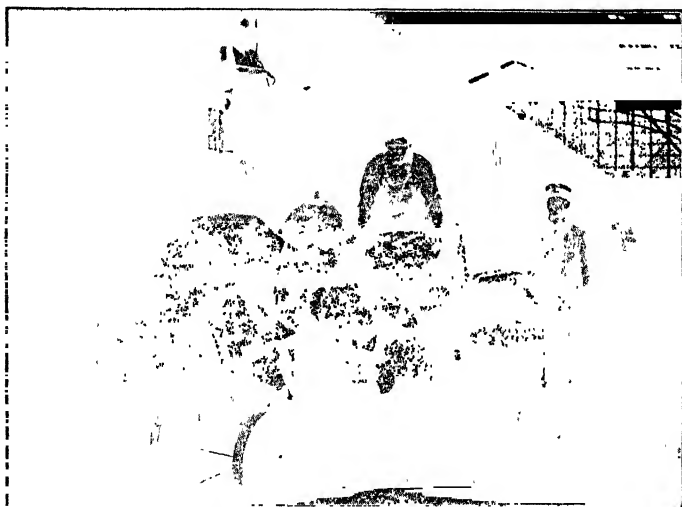
The United States Marines are a body of men under the direction of the Navy Department, but whose duties are much the same as those of a soldier. They have maintained a very high standard in conduct and performance of duties.

hardly more than completed before a new idea in construction makes it a back number, and in a few years it is worth not much more than so much junk. Now the airplane seems to have made it more foolish than ever to spend great sums on battleships.

112. The Department of Justice. — Not organized as a

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department till 1870, though its head, the Attorney-General, was an officer in the first of our Cabinets, the Department of Justice is perhaps the least known of any. Yet some official of the department conducts every case in the federal courts in which the United States is concerned. The Attorney-General is the chief advisor of the President and other federal officers on points of law and constitution. Next to the Attorney-General comes the Solicitor-General.



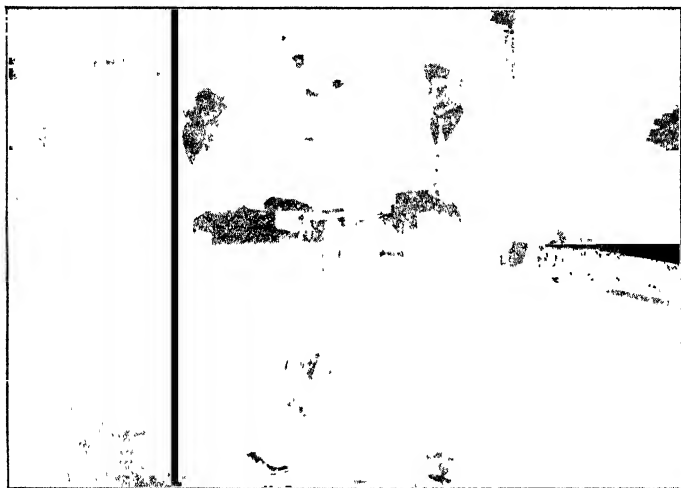
LOADING SACKS ON A MAIL CAR.

113. The Post Office Department. — No branch of the national government reaches the ordinary citizen so directly and so often as the Post Office Department. The carrier who brings the mail to our door or the country postmaster who hands it out from the office window is a familiar figure to every child, yet they are just as truly officers of the United States as the President himself. The Postmaster-General is the head of the Department.

It is a great business that Uncle Sam is engaged in, this job of carrying the mail — one of the very few business enter-

prises, in fact, that he conducts. He allows no one else to engage in the same business and does not care very much whether he makes money at it or not. For his main object is to render as much service as he can, and some postmasters-general have cared too little whether they made both ends meet.

Besides carrying letters, cards, magazines, papers, and parcels of all kinds, and exchanging them with other coun-



STAMPING LETTERS.

In large post offices this sort of thing is done by machinery.

tries all over the globe, the department conducts a postal savings bank. At every office of importance any person may open a savings account and deposit a sum up to \$2500 on which the government will pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest. At this low rate there is almost no competition with private banks; but as some people will trust the government with money which they would not put in the care of any one else, money is brought into circulation which otherwise would be hidden somewhere doing nobody any good.

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114. The Department of the Interior. — Perhaps the easiest way to explain the varied duties of the Department of the Interior is to say that it supervises all the activities of the federal government in domestic matters which are not assigned to some other department. At its head is the Secretary of the Interior. In explaining briefly the duties of its chief officers we can sketch the functions of the department.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office has charge of the public lands of the United States and superintends the surveying and selling of them.

The Commissioner of Pensions directs the examination of claims for pensions for those who have served in the army or navy of the United States or who were dependent upon them, and oversees the regular payment of pensions to those whose names are on the rolls. Our government has been very generous in this respect. There were at one time a million names on the list, and a total of over four billion dollars has been paid from the treasury for this purpose since the Civil War.]

Should a pension be regarded as a right or a favor?

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs looks after the interests of the Indians who are still living as tribes on reservations.

The Commissioner of Patents has charge of the granting of patents. These give to an inventor the right to control the manufacture and sale of an invention for a period of 17 years. The Commissioner has a considerable force of assistants and examiners to look into the various claims and decide which are just and worthy. The Patent Office, which preserves plans or models of hundreds of thousands of inventions of all grades of merit, is a remarkable institution.

The Commissioner of Education has the duty of collecting facts and figures in regard to educational conditions in the country and of publishing them for the benefit of school officials and the public. He has no actual authority over

the schools in any state, but indirectly has been able to give inspiration, help, and advice that have often been valuable.

The Director of the Geological Survey is in charge of the study of the geological formation of the different parts of the land. Especially his office tries to discover the location and extent of the mineral deposits of the country.

The Director of the Reclamation Service is concerned with the irrigation of the desert lands and the construction of the great dams and reservoirs which provide the water to make these lands fit for cultivation, as far as the national government is responsible for this enterprise.

The Director of the Bureau of Mines conducts the work of the government for the preservation of the mineral resources of the country, the wise and careful operations of the mines, and the safety of the men employed in them.

115. The Department of Agriculture.—Beginning in a modest way its work along lines intended to benefit the farmers of the country, the Department of Agriculture has taken up a wide range of activities important to the health and prosperity of all classes of people. It is headed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Best known of its activities is perhaps the Weather Bureau. Weather statistics are twice daily gathered by it from all sections of the country, and forecasts are published which have been the means of saving lives and property to an extent which cannot easily be measured but which must be very great.

The Bureau of Animal Industry inspects meat intended for interstate or foreign shipment, and tries to prevent diseases among cattle.

The Bureau of Plant Industry tries to find methods of improving crops, introduces new varieties, and studies the prevention of the growth of weeds and harmful plants.

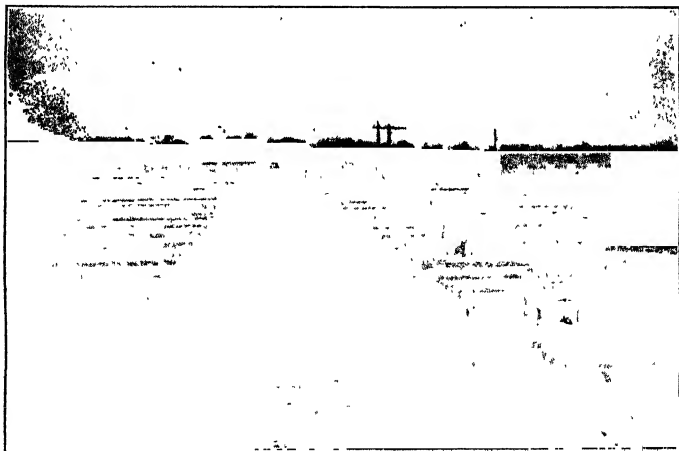
The Bureau of Forestry has charge of the national forest reserves, plants trees for future use, and has tried to arouse the people to the dangers of wanton cutting down of our forests.

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The Entomologist studies bugs and insects and the means of preventing their ravages.

The Experiment Stations at various places, especially at the state colleges aided by appropriations from the national treasury, try to learn the crops that can best be grown in certain sections and the conditions most favorable to their growth.

The Chemist examines foodstuffs and drugs that are on the market, to find whether they contain adulterations or



THE STOCKYARDS, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

poisonous or otherwise harmful ingredients. His work is of great value to the public health.

116. The Department of Commerce. — The name of this department suggests its work — to attend to the interests and needs of American commerce and trade. Like several others it has a Secretary, and is organized in bureaus. Every ten years the Census Bureau takes a complete census of the population of the United States, and in the meantime is engaged in tabulating its returns and in gathering and publishing statistics concerning the industries and the people

of the land. The Bureaus of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, of Lighthouses, of Fisheries, of Navigation, and of Standards, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey, are very important phases of this department's activities.

117. The Department of Labor. — The infant among the administrative departments is the Department of Labor. It interests itself in gathering information about conditions in the world of labor and industry and in trying to improve them. The Bureau of Immigration receives and inspects the foreigners who come to our ports every year and tries to direct to a proper place those who are admitted.

Hand in hand with this bureau works the Bureau of Naturalization. Its heads try to keep in touch with the foreigners who have come here to stay and to direct their steps toward American citizenship. It coöperates with night schools in the cities and otherwise does everything possible to further the steps of the immigrant toward intelligent citizenship.

The Children's Bureau investigates anything that concerns the health, the occupations, or the welfare of children. The Woman's Bureau is intended to do a similar work for women, especially those engaged in industry.

118. Federal Commissions. — Three important commissions deserve special mention. They are not directly connected with any department of the Cabinet, but are responsible to the President and make reports directly to him or to Congress.

The *Interstate Commerce Commission* was organized by Congress in 1887. Since then its powers have been greatly increased. It now has eleven members, each of whom gets a salary of \$10,000 a year. They have jurisdiction over all matters arising under the laws governing interstate commerce as far as they affect railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone companies, sleeping car companies, and oil pipe lines.

They investigate supposed violations of these laws and have

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power to bring such cases before the courts. Changes in rates which are proposed by the companies under the supervision of the Commission must have its approval, and the Commission itself has the right to fix the maximum rate which may be charged.

Appointments to this Commission have been made by the presidents without regard to politics, and the value of its services in securing fair treatment to shippers and the general public is not likely to be reckoned too highly. Safety in travel and sound management of the roads themselves can be partly credited, too, to the work of the Commission.

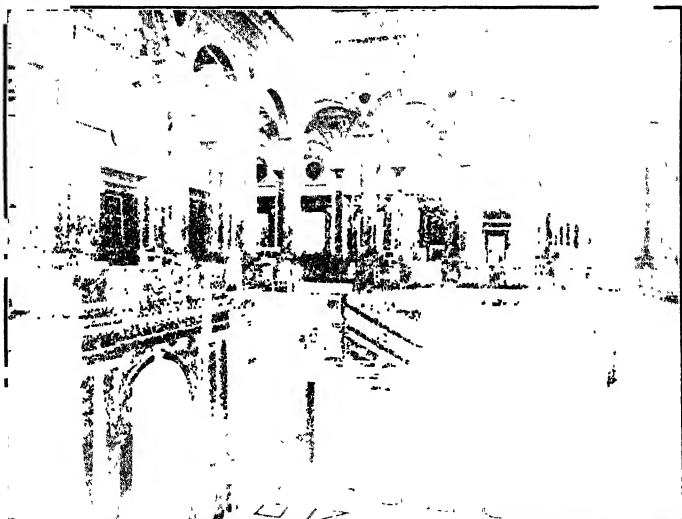
In 1883 the *Civil Service Commission* was organized. It received authority to make rules to govern the examination of public officers, and to investigate violations of laws affecting officeholding. The President has the right to designate the offices for which a competitive examination must be taken. All examination papers are marked by examiners connected with the Commission, and when a vacancy occurs in an office in the "classified service" the person appointed is to be taken from the three whose marks in the examination for that position were at the head of the list.

The *Federal Trade Commission* was created in 1914. The purpose of this body is to supervise the business operations of large companies so as to prevent the use of unfair methods. It has power to order a corporation to stop a practice which it considers unjust. The Commission may require reports from corporations, and may make recommendations to Congress in regard to trade conditions affecting the United States. It has five members.

119. Special Institutions. — Several institutions with headquarters in the city of Washington exist more or less independently of other branches of the government and are important on their own account. We shall mention four of these:

The *Library of Congress* is one of the largest and finest in

the world. It has at present over 2,000,000 publications on its shelves. In connection with the Library is conducted the granting of copyrights. A copyright may be granted to the author or publisher of a book, picture, piece of music, or other composition, allowing him the sole benefit of its publication for 28 years, and it may be renewed by him or his heirs for 28 years more.



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A STAIRCASE IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

This is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world.

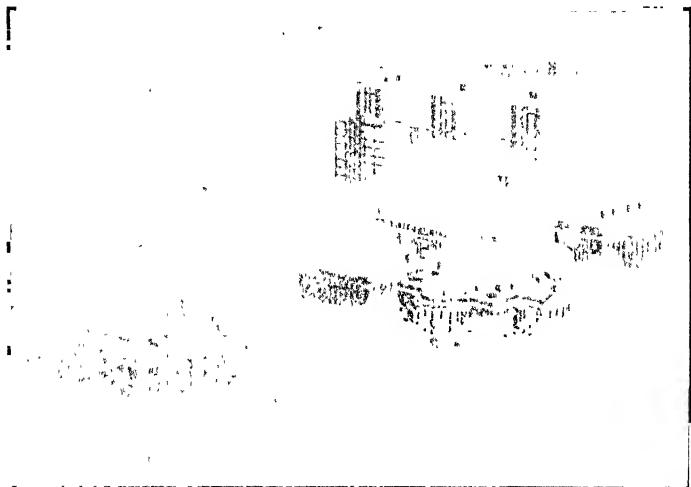
The Smithsonian Institution and *National Museum* were founded for the purpose of carrying on scientific studies and preserving a collection of objects of historical or scientific interest. The institution was started with money left by an Englishman named James Smithson. It has assembled a marvelous collection of articles which could not possibly be duplicated anywhere.

The Government Printing Office, presided over by the Public Printer, is the largest printing office in the world. It

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prints the *Congressional Record* and the reports of the various departments. Several of the departments, notably the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture, issue a large number of pamphlets and bulletins containing a great variety of helpful information. These they either give away or sell at cost to those who wish them.

The *Pan-American Union* was organized for the purpose



SOME NOTABLE BUILDINGS IN WASHINGTON.

Here we see the Pan-American Union, the headquarters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Red Cross, and the new Interior building.

of collecting facts and spreading information about the countries of the New World so that they may know more about each other. The Director and his Assistant try to create a friendly sentiment and common sympathy among the republics of North, Central, and South America. Their headquarters are in a fine public building given by Andrew Carnegie. The support of this Union comes partly from the other countries of the New World.

In some places graduating classes in high schools make a trip to Washington instead of spending large sums on elaborate graduation exercises. Do you think this is worth while?

120. Promoting Capable Service.— Public officers too many times have the reputation of seeking their places because they are easy positions, and we think the holders of such positions do not have to work very hard. Often this is not true, because many men and women have made real sacrifices to render good service to their government. There are many people who have spent all the best years of their lives in the city of Washington in some comparatively unknown position under some department. Sometimes the head of a department gets the credit for the work done by one of his subordinates or even a clerk. The government does not usually pay very high salaries, and therefore many capable people will not stay in the service of the government, because they can get a good deal more from some corporation, or other form of business. Occasionally officials who have had the money to spend, have paid considerable out of their own pockets to keep good subordinates with them.

Possibly one way of promoting efficient service is to make it clear that dishonest or inefficient people will not be kept in office. There are two ways by which a public official may be removed from office: by impeachment, and by the person who made the appointment in the first place. If a person has been appointed under the civil service law after an examination, he has the right to a hearing before he can be dismissed, but otherwise the President or other person who made an appointment may remove the person appointed. The President may not remove any judge, however.

Any federal officer in the executive or judicial branches of the government may be removed through the impeachment process. The House of Representatives may bring impeachment charges against any such person, and the Senate must try the case. A two-thirds vote of the Senate is needed for

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conviction. We have had eleven impeachment cases under the federal government, and only three of these cases resulted in conviction.

What is the difference between impeachment and conviction? Was President Johnson impeached? Can a postmaster be impeached? Why do you suppose that impeachment cases have been rare?

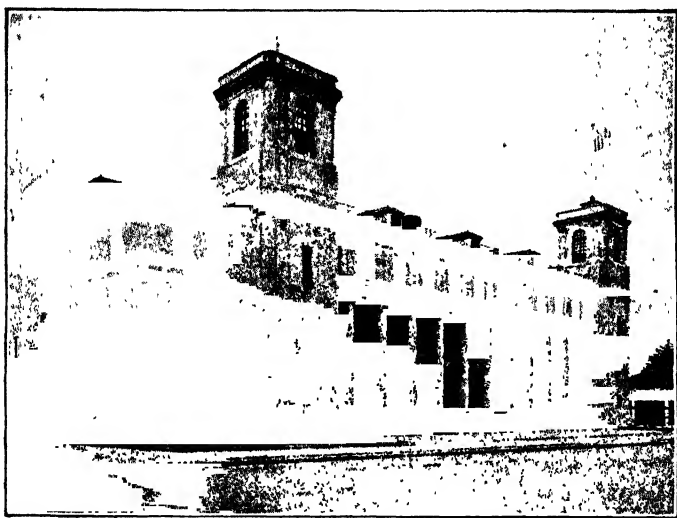
The President may exempt any person that he wishes from the operation of the civil service law in regard to appointments. If this is so, what is the use of having such laws? Under many civil service systems ex-soldiers are given a higher rating than the other contestants who have not served in the army. Is this a good practice?

121. National Finances. — Our national government before we entered the Great War was spending over one billion dollars a year. What a staggering figure that would have seemed to the people of Alexander Hamilton's day, who recognized that he rendered a tremendous public service in arranging for the settlement of a public debt of \$54,000,000! About \$600,000,000 is spent by the Post Office Department, which, in an occasional year, a little more than pays for itself. Over \$200,000,000 goes for pensions. Considerably over \$400,000,000 goes to meet the salaries of officers, the construction of public works and buildings and other costs of administration. The care of the Indians takes somewhat less than \$25,000,000. The interest on our debt is now well toward \$1,000,000,000 yearly.

The rest goes for military and naval expenses. The saddening lesson of the Great War has convinced thoughtful people of the folly of supposing that armies and navies prevent war. They are an awful burden, and can be excused only on the ground of sheer necessity. Yet until all nations will stop this thing, no single nation will feel safe to do it.

Explain the term "pork barrel" in connection with governmental expenditures. Compare the above figures with any later ones you can obtain.

Until the Civil War the leading source of revenue was the income from duties on imports, but during that war a very extensive internal revenue system was established which has been abandoned only in part. It was widely extended during the Great War and is now one of the greatest sources of revenue. Manufacturers and dealers in jewelry, tobacco, cigarettes, oleomargarine and renovated butter, and other commodities, have to contribute to this revenue.



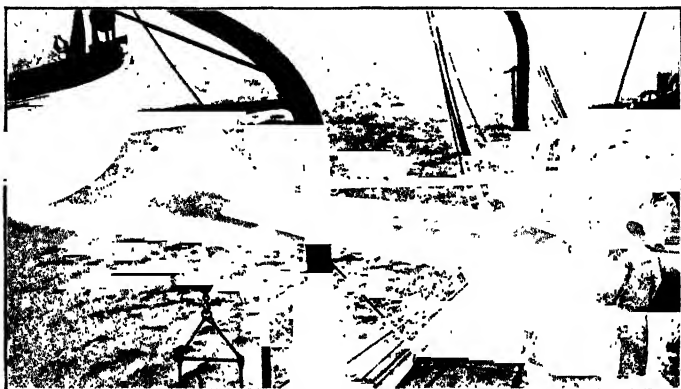
THE FEDERAL BUILDING, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA.

The post office and the immigration and customs officers are housed here.

Taxes on the income of corporations and of individuals also bring in large amounts. Duties on imports constitute a considerable portion of the revenue, though not so large a part as formerly. The acts of 1916 and later years provided a considerable number of special taxes and a new system of taxes on inheritances. Many of the special taxes were of a temporary character and were meant to be abandoned when the emergency was over.

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No extensive borrowing was done for years except for the expenses of the Spanish War and the construction of the Panama Canal. But our activities in connection with the Great War caused an enormous increase in our expenses. To meet these and to make loans to our allies, "Liberty Bonds" to the amount of over \$16,000,000,000 were sold to our own people, besides an additional "Victory Loan" of \$4,500,000,000 after the fighting was over.



AT THE ANNUAL TARGET PRACTICE.

A torpedo is shown just leaving the tube. This practice alone costs many thousands of dollars.

Do these sources of revenue reach all the states in equal proportion?

For a long time we handled our national finances in a most childish and extravagant way. Nobody felt any particular responsibility for planning a budget unless it was in a time of war when extraordinary expenses were necessary. Congress passed appropriation bills without any definite ideas as to the amount of money available to meet these bills.

Other civilized governments much earlier came to realize how foolish such a process was. In England they have had for many years a Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Cabinet,

who is responsible for the preparing of the budget and directing the nation's finances.

Finally, however, in 1921, a budget bill was at last enacted by Congress. We now have a Budget Bureau headed by a Director of the Budget. It is the business of this bureau to get estimates from the various branches of the government and combine them into one unified estimate of the cost of the government for the next year. This budget is presented by the Secretary of the Treasury to the President, who lays it before Congress. Of course Congress is still free to do as it pleases with the recommendation of the Director of the Budget, but it can no longer claim ignorance when it spends money extravagantly or for undesirable purposes.

The establishment of the Budget Bureau was accompanied by the creation of the office of Comptroller-General. He has charge of the work of auditing the accounts of our federal officers, to see if their expenses are kept within the limit intended for by the law. To make these officials as free as possible from any political influence they are given long terms of service. The Comptroller-General is appointed for a fifteen-year term, and the Director of the Budget for an indefinite time.

... The executive branch of our government is divided up into various departments, each having one official head. The heads of these departments not only direct their individual departments, but also act as advisors of the President as members of his Cabinet. The whole people help to support them and the other administrative officers.

QUESTIONS

What offices compose the Cabinet? What constitutional basis is there for its existence? What are its two chief functions?

Point out definite contrasts between our Cabinet and the English body which is called by the same name.

Explain the duties and organization of the State Department. Name some of our great Secretaries of State, and mention some of their special services.

What are the special duties of the principal officers in the Treasury Department?

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Explain the services and organization of the War Department. Who are legally included in the *militia*? What changes in our military system were caused by our entrance into the War? What is the significance of the terms *National Guard*, *West Point*, *Plattsburg*?

State the functions and organization of the Navy Department. Compare our army and navy with those of other countries. Should we try to keep up with them?

Explain the work of the Attorney-General and the department of which he is the head.

What is the importance of the Post Office Department to the ordinary citizen? Does the Department make money? Should it?

Name eight important bureaus or divisions in the Department of the Interior. Explain briefly the work of each. What is a patent? On what terms may it be obtained?

Is the Department of Agriculture of greater service to farmers or to other people? Mention the principal officials connected with it, and tell their duties.

What are the principal matters attended to by the Department of Commerce?

Describe the main services of the Department of Labor.

What authority does the Constitution give for the Interstate Commerce Commission? What is the nature of its work?

Why was the Civil Service Commission created? How does it carry on its work? What presidents have been particularly interested in it? Should all offices be filled only by persons who have gained first rank in a competitive examination?

For what purpose does the Federal Trade Commission exist? Do you think its powers should be extended?

Mention four important special institutions in Washington and explain their purpose. What is a copyright? How is it secured?

What are some of the difficulties that attend the keeping of good men in the public service? By what means may unworthy officials be removed? Describe the process of impeachment.

What are the principal items in our national expense bill? Mention the chief sources of national revenue. Discuss our national budget system.

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Sketch of the Present Cabinet.

The Treasury Building.

The Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

The Life and Work of a Soldier.

The Life and Work of a Sailor.

West Point and Annapolis.

Resolved, that the money spent on an army and navy, beyond what is needed for police service, is wasted.

The Different Types of War Vessels.

The Patent Office.

The Weather Bureau.

The Census Bureau.

A Civil Service Examination. (Let the class try one.)

Each of the four special institutions mentioned will also make an interesting study if time permits.

The Interstate Commerce Commission.

A Lighthouse.

The Story of a Letter.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Magruder: American Government, Chapters 9-13.

Haskin: American Government, Chapter 25.

Marriott: Uncle Sam's Business, Chapter 17.

Lessons in Community and National Life, A-12, B-13.

Bryce: American Commonwealth, Chapter 9.

Munro: Government of the United States, Chapters 30, 31, 36.

CHAPTER XVII

OUR FEDERAL COURTS

Four things belong to judges, to hear courteously, to answer wisely, to consider soberly, and to decide impartially. — Socrates.

To interpret our national laws and maintain Federal authority requires judges and courts. What system of organization do our federal courts follow? What are their specific rights and duties? What relation have they to state courts?

122. Their Services and Importance. — No other courts in the world have as great power and importance as those of the United States, though that does not necessarily mean that they do their work more capably than any other courts in the world. The courts in the United States from top to bottom, from the Federal Supreme Court to the courts of the cities and counties, have been harshly criticized for delays in handling cases, for rendering decisions on technicalities rather than on the basis of real justice, and for numerous other reasons. But in no European country are their courts recognized by the constitution or custom or law as being on the same plane as the law-making and executive branches of their government. Here they can sometimes even set aside the acts of other departments. If the English Parliament passes a law the courts must accept it as a law. In this country if the Supreme Court states that a law is contrary to the Constitution of the United States, then no officer may attempt to enforce it, and no Congress may enact any similar law with any thought that it will go into effect.

123. The Relation of the State and Federal Courts. —

The line of division between the state and national authority is drawn about as clearly in connection with the courts as on any other matter of public interest. When cases arise under the Constitution or laws of Congress, they will be tried in the United States courts. If cases arise under state law, they will be tried in the state courts. There is no distinction based on the seriousness of an offense. Crimes even as serious as murder are tried in the state where the crime was committed. But in cases involving a representative of a foreign country, it is assumed that the dignity of the country can be preserved only by trying the case in the national courts. Cases arising outside the boundaries of any state also come into the federal courts.

Cases involving one state against another, or one state and a foreign country, or citizens of either may be tried in the federal courts, but in the latter instance only if the amount involved is over \$3000. Otherwise it is tried by the state courts. But if the losing party in a case tried in a state court maintains that the law which applied to the case was contrary to the laws of Congress or the United States Constitution, he can appeal the case to the federal Supreme Court. When the Supreme Court has expressed an opinion, it must be accepted as final, and every other court must respect the decision rendered.

May a state court rule that a law passed by Congress is unconstitutional? Should the American courts in 1924 abide by the same ideas that the courts did in 1824? Andrew Jackson when he was president made this remark, "John Marshall has rendered his decision; now let him enforce it." What do you think of this statement?

124. How Our Federal Courts Are Organized. — Congress is authorized by the Constitution to establish courts of lower grade than the Supreme Court. Exercising this power, Congress passed the famous Judiciary Act of 1789, of which Oliver Ellsworth was the principal author. So well drawn

was this law that we hold to-day to the plan of organization set forth in it. Two grades of courts are provided in addition to the Supreme Court, which is required by the Constitution itself.

There is at least one federal *District Court* in each state, and the larger states are divided into two or three districts, or even four in New York and Texas. Each district court has at least one judge. In each district there is also a United States district attorney, who has charge of prosecuting offenders against the national laws, and a United States marshal, who makes arrests and performs such other duties as the courts may require, including the care of convicted persons until they have been safely placed in a federal prison or have otherwise performed their sentence.

There are also United States Commissioners in each district who give hearings to people accused of breaking a national law and decide whether the evidence is sufficient to make the trial of the case worth while. Cases are tried before a jury, and the method of trial is in general like that in the ordinary county court which we shall later describe (§§ 134, 135).

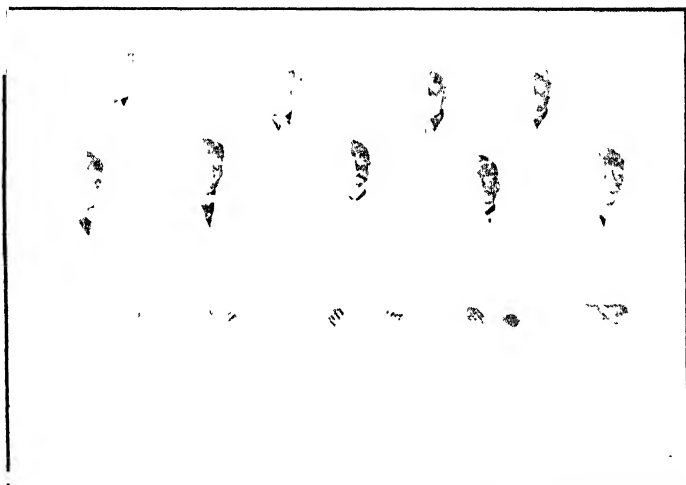
Next above the district courts are the *Circuit Courts of Appeals*. For this purpose the country is divided into nine circuits, each one of which contains at least three states. From two to five circuit judges — 32 in all — are appointed in each circuit. They hold court without a jury at different places in their circuit, and hear appeals from the district courts in that circuit.

The *Supreme Court* consists of a chief justice and eight associate justices. It meets only in Washington. Like the Circuit Court of Appeals, it has no jury, and except in rare cases hears no witnesses. Lawyers present the argument on each side of the case, and a majority of the justices is sufficient to render an opinion.

A few special courts have been created by Congress to deal with matters of peculiar character. The *Court of Claims*,

How Our Federal Courts Are Organized 259

made up of five judges meeting at Washington, hears all money claims against the United States other than pensions. If it decides in favor of a claimant, he may then go before Congress and ask for an appropriation to pay off the claim. The *Court of Customs Appeals* is another court of five judges with power to make rulings on points arising under our tariff laws. The courts of the District of Columbia, by reason of



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THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

their location, sometimes have to deal with cases that would not come under an ordinary state court. Each territory has its own courts, too.

All federal judges are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate, and their term is for good behavior, which generally means for life. They can be removed only by impeachment proceedings. They are separated as far as possible from any temptation on account of popular prejudice or political influence to consider anything else than their honest convictions in making a decision.

The supreme justices get \$14,500 a year, with an extra

\$500 for the chief justice. Judges in the Circuit Court and the Court of Customs Appeals receive \$8500; in the District Courts and the Court of Claims \$7500, with \$500 more for the chief justice of the Court of Claims. At the age of seventy a judge may resign or retire with his salary continued at the same rate. But many judges prefer to continue all or a part of their work after reaching seventy.

The life term does not apply to district attorneys and marshals or to territorial judges. They are also appointed by the President, and their term is generally four years.

Is the life term for judges inconsistent with the general ideas of American government?

125. Powers of the Federal Courts. — The nature of any court's authority — its jurisdiction — is either *original* or *appellate*. Cases coming before it are either new cases that have not been tried before any of our courts, or else are appeals brought to a higher court on the ground that there is something wrong with the decision of the lower court. The district courts have *original* jurisdiction. They hear all but a very few of the cases brought before the federal courts. The circuit courts hear nothing but appeals taken from a district court. Unless the case involves some question as to the interpretation of the Constitution or the laws of Congress, the decision of a circuit court is usually final.

The Supreme Court may give its consent to hear any case which has been tried in a lower court, and will always do so when the interpretation of the Constitution or of some law is at stake. The Supreme Court has original jurisdiction when a state is a party to a case, or when the representatives of foreign countries are concerned.

The authority of our Supreme Court is far greater than that of any other in the world. Every other branch or department of our government is expected to abide by its decision, though it must in a way depend upon the President and his subordinates to put its decisions into effect. Sometimes

a good deal of fault is found with particular decisions of the Supreme Court; but if a decision had been given the other way, another group of people would have found fault. It is very important that we should be able to go somewhere for final settlement of points of law or constitution. On the whole the Supreme Court has merited the respect of all American citizens.

Some people say that the Supreme Court should have no right to declare a law of Congress unconstitutional unless at least two-thirds of its members so vote, instead of only the majority vote now necessary. What is your opinion on this matter? To what extent may the President or Congress exercise any control over the Federal Courts?

However efficiently laws may be made and carried out, sometimes questions arise which call for interpretation and decision. . . . The federal court system, like the other branches of the United States government, represents national sovereignty in action. The Supreme Court is the most powerful court in the world.

QUESTIONS

Of what unusual importance are the national courts in this country? Why are national courts needed? What three classes of cases are tried in them? Give examples under each class. If the President wished to know how the Supreme Court would rule on a matter in which he was interested, could he find out?

What relation do the state courts bear to the federal courts? Explain fully your answer to this question: If John Smith were convicted of murder or of counterfeiting in the courts of the state of Virginia, could he appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States?

What are the three grades of federal courts? Explain the organization of each grade. What special work is assigned to each? Make clear the particular importance of the Supreme Court. Who are its present members and how long have they served? What special federal courts are there outside of the regular system? State the term and salary of federal judges.

Are the federal courts in any way dependent upon Congress or the President?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Supreme Court: Its Members and Its Customs.
Resolved, that judges should be elected by popular vote.
John Marshall.
Some Important Supreme Court Decisions.
A Visit to a Near-by Federal Court.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Magruder: American Government, Chapter 14.
Haskin: American Government, Chapters 26-28.
Munro: The Government of the United States, Chapters 6, 24.
Reed: Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 13.
Bryce: American Commonwealth, Chapters 22-24.

CHAPTER XVIII

TRAINING FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

*Your flag and my flag,
And how it flies to-day
In your land and my land
And half a world away! — Nesbit.*

In any new country there are likely to be regions that are thinly settled. Sometimes, too, older districts are inhabited by people who have not learned to govern themselves. What sort of government should they have in those conditions? Should they have anything to say about it themselves?

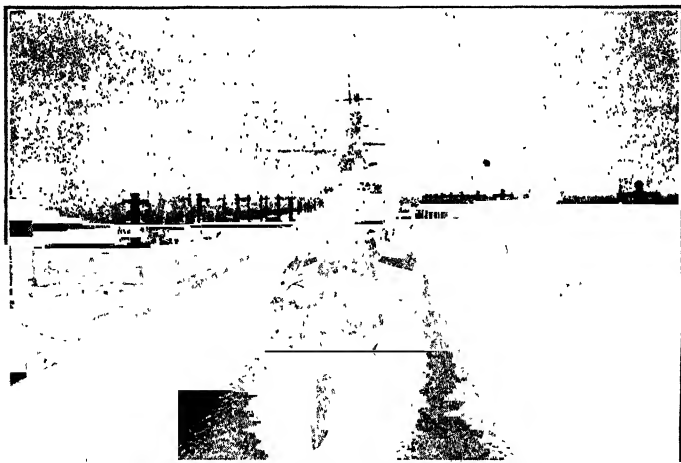
126. The Territories. — During practically all of our national existence there has been a considerable amount of land that was either thinly settled or wholly unoccupied except by savages. About the close of the Revolution several of the states turned over to the national government much wild land which they had claimed. To govern some of this land the Congress of the old Confederation passed the famous Northwest Territory Act of 1787.

So well thought out was this law that its general features have been regularly observed from that day to this in dealing with regions not ready to be made into states. To settle any doubt about the right to govern such territory, the Constitution specifically declares that "Congress shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States."

The form of government known as a *territory* was devised to prepare for full self-government a region which was expected to become in time a state. A governor, other executive officers, and judges are appointed by the Presi-

dent for a term, usually, of four years. A territorial legislature of two houses is elected by the voters of the territory, but its laws are subject to the veto of the governor and to the disapproval of Congress as well. The voters of the territory elect a Delegate, who has a seat in the national House of Representatives and may take part in debates, but has no vote.

Only six states of the Union besides the original thirteen did not go through this territorial stage — Vermont, Ken-



A BRITISH WARSHIP IN THE PANAMA CANAL.

tucky, Maine, Texas, California, and West Virginia. At present Hawaii and Alaska are territories, and in most respects the government of Porto Rico is very nearly the same. None of these seems likely to become a state very soon.

127. Colonies or Possessions. — Other lands owned and governed by the United States are called *colonies*, *dependencies*, or *possessions*. Their relation to our national government does not differ much from the relations of the royal colonies in America to their mother country before the Revolution. The chief difference between these possessions

and the territories is that the possessions are given whatever form of government seems best suited to them, without thought of whether they will ever become states or not.

The islands of Guam and Tutuila and the Virgin Islands in the West Indies are directly under the authority of officers of the navy. The Panama Canal Zone is managed by a civil governor with several subordinate departments.

The Philippines have furnished the most serious problems in our government of colonies, because of their situation and the various races and stages of development that have existed there. Our policy has been to give them steadily more and more of responsibility for their own administration as fast as they become fitted to exercise it. They have now a governor-general, and a vice-governor, appointed by the President, who must be Americans, three other executive officers appointed by the President, who may be Filipinos, and a legislature composed of a senate and a house of representatives

elected by the men of voting age who can read and write some language or dialect. The Philippines elect two Commissioners, who attend our national House of Representatives.

Whether the Philippines shall be permanently retained under the ownership of the United States or given their independence has been one of the notable disputed questions



NEGRITO GIRLS FROM THE PHILIPPINES.

We must not suppose that this style of dress and living is characteristic of all Filipinos, for the customs and dress prevailing in a great part of the islands are very similar to our own. But there are some parts of the Archipelago which are inhabited by people who live in a primitive way.

since the islands were acquired. Unfortunately there has been too much partisanship in its discussion. The law of 1916 declared it to be the intention of the United States to give the islands their independence when they are ready for it. But when will that be? Quite likely a majority of the Filipinos who have any opinion about it want independence, but our government seems to think that they do not want what is good for them.

The Supreme Court has justified Congress in passing any laws it wishes concerning the District of Columbia, the territories, and the possessions, without regard to the acts of any territorial legislatures. In the possessions, there may even be different tariff laws from those applying elsewhere and the people may receive all, a part, or none at all of the rights of citizens of the United States, as Congress may decide.

128. The District of Columbia. — The Constitution gives Congress full power to control the seat of government and any other government property, such as forts, arsenals, dockyards, and other public buildings. As at present governed, the District is treated simply like so much property. Its affairs are managed by a board of three commissioners appointed by the President. Congress itself acts as the law-making body. The cost of government is partly paid from the national treasury and partly from taxes on private property in the District.

The permanent residents of the District do not vote for any officers whatever and have no part in their own government. Nevertheless the city of Washington, with the Capitol, the Library of Congress, the White House, the many other public buildings, the beautiful streets and parks, is a most attractive city and its people make little complaint about their government.

Is the government of the District an example of "taxation without representation" or "government by consent of the governed"? Is it justifiable?

129. Protectorates.—There are certain regions over which the United States government exercises supervision, but which it does not own or govern entirely. Cuba, for instance, is subject to intervention from the United States to put down internal disorder. Its foreign affairs and financial management must also be satisfactory to our government. The financial administration of the republics of San Domingo and Haiti has been assumed by the United States. With the republics of Panama and Nicaragua we have an understanding in connection with certain phases of their government. The relation which we hold to these smaller countries we speak of as a *protectorate*.

The chief reason for our taking up any responsibility for them lies in their incapacity to manage their own finances. Many Europeans have money interests in these places. Since the United States through its Monroe Doctrine has commanded Europe to refrain from interfering in the New World, the European governments rightly expect that we will assure fair and honest treatment of their rights in this hemisphere. Partly to remove any excuse for European intervention on account of these little countries not paying their just debts, and partly to protect our own interests in the same little countries, we found it necessary steadily to bring them more closely under our supervision. One of the greatest of our recent problems has been whether our interest or duty should cause us to intervene in the much larger republic of Mexico.

Are there any reasons why Mexico should be treated differently from Haiti?

The sincere ideal of the American people in these relations has been to help new, weaker, or dependent peoples to gain truly democratic self-government. Sometimes we have planned to develop regions into states, sometimes simply to give them the sort of government they seemed to need most. Sometimes we have tried to act as "big brother" to our "little brothers" in the New World, though they have not always understood our interest in them.

QUESTIONS

Tell the circumstances under which our first territories were organized. Under whose authority are they governed? What territories do we have now? Describe their form of government.

Distinguish between a territory and a possession or colony. Name our colonial possessions and tell the method of government in operation in each. Why is the problem of Philippine government somewhat more difficult than that of the other possessions? Does "the Constitution follow the flag"?

How is the District of Columbia governed? Is this method wise and fair?

What is a protectorate? With what countries do we hold that relation and why? To what extent does the Monroe Doctrine bind us in our relation with New or Old World countries?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson.

The Trial of Aaron Burr for Treason.

Hawaii, an Island Paradise.

Alaska: Its Needs and Possibilities.

What the Philippines Owe to the United States.

Resolved, that the United States should retain the Philippine Islands permanently.

Our West Indian Possessions.

The Story of the Panama Canal.

Resolved, that the Monroe Doctrine should be abandoned as a feature of our foreign policy.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Magruder: American Government, Chapter 16.

Reed: Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 26.

Haskin: American Government, Chapter 19.

Marriott: Uncle Sam's Business, Chapter 6.

Du Puy: Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapters 2, 8.

Munro: Government of the United States, Chapter 26.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CITIZEN — HIS RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Those who would thrust politics and morality apart will never understand the one nor the other. — Morley.

82

Can you live in a community without being a member of it? A member of a community is entitled to certain definite rights. If these are interfered with, how may they be protected? What does citizenship mean? How many people are true citizens?

130. The Meaning of Citizenship. — A public speaker feels sure that he can win the applause of his audience if he professes that he is an American citizen and glories in the Stars and Stripes; but we wonder sometimes if the person who utters these thrilling expressions which you applaud knows really what citizenship is, or practices it if he does know it. Citizenship does not consist merely of boasting or receiving benefits; it calls for accepting responsibility and for service to one's fellow men. American citizenship is a possession to be prized. It is also an opportunity to serve. With a few exceptions, every person within the limits of a country is bound to obey the laws and respect the authority of that country's government. But all persons within the borders of a country do not stand in the same relation towards its government. The inhabitants of a country may be divided into two groups — citizens and aliens.

The *citizen* is entitled to full protection from the government wherever he may be and may exercise various privileges which are not guaranteed to others. In return he must give his undivided allegiance and support to the authority

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of his government and if necessary may be called upon to serve it directly. Our Constitution says that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they live.

Does that mean you? If you are a citizen, when did you become one?

The *alien* is a foreign-born resident of a country who has not given allegiance to its government. Ordinarily the government protects his life and property as long as he is within its limits, but is under no compulsion to give him any special privileges or assume any responsibility for him outside our own territory. An alien is usually not compelled to support this government by rendering military or other special service, but must obey our laws the same as any other person.

As to the right to transfer citizenship and allegiance from one government to another, the nations of the world have not always agreed. Before the so-called War of 1812, England maintained "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman," and her insistence upon this was one of the causes of that war. Some European countries still hold that doctrine, though England herself has long ago adopted the view of the United States. We have always held that a person has the rights of expatriation and naturalization — that is, of giving up his allegiance to the country of his birth and acquiring citizenship in another country.

131. How Citizenship Is Acquired. — There are in all five ways by which persons may receive American citizenship.

(1) By birth in the United States;

(2) By being born of American parents who were living abroad; (In this case, if the child continues to live in a foreign country, he must choose when he becomes of age the country in which he wishes to enjoy citizenship.)

(3) By naturalization;

(4) By naturalization of the father, for it is considered in

law that children under the age of twenty-one possess the nationality of the father ;

(5) Occasionally by annexation, if the treaty of annexation, as in the case of the Louisiana Purchase, gave citizenship in the United States to its inhabitants. This last provision is not invariable, for when the Philippines were annexed Congress declined to recognize the Filipinos as American citizens and was sustained by the Supreme Court in that attitude.

The process of naturalization is briefly as follows : When a foreigner desires to become an American citizen, he must, if over 18 years old, go before a state or federal court and formally declare his intention of abandoning his allegiance to the government under which he was born and of becoming a citizen of the United States.

By the time he has lived in the United States at least five years, providing that not less than two years, or more than seven, have passed since he filed his declaration of intention, he may again appear in court, take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and receive his certificate of naturalization. This process makes him fully a citizen of the United States, with every privilege that a native-born citizen has except that of becoming president or vice-president.

A foreign-born woman may be naturalized in the same way as a man. But if her husband is already a citizen she is not required to make a preliminary declaration of intention, and only one year's residence is demanded. Only whites and negroes may be naturalized. Anarchists are excluded.

What are the reasons for the last restriction ? Do you think the requirements for naturalization are strict enough ? In what ways might an American citizen lose his citizenship ? A married woman's citizenship formerly depended on that of her husband. Should it ?

132. The Rights of Citizens.—A citizen of the United States is also a citizen of the state in which he lives, though if living abroad he possesses only national citizenship. Com-

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monly we do not think of any distinction between state and national citizenship. Yet when a person moves from one state to another he may find that his rights as a citizen are not exactly the same in the new state, though his national citizenship has not been affected at all. We can summarize practically all the rights of citizenship guaranteed by the national and the state constitutions under three general heads :

(1) **Personal Security.** — Every citizen has the right to enjoy life, health, and a good reputation, and no one may by any unjust act deprive him of them. If that is attempted, he may ask the state to protect him. Even the government itself may not take the citizen's life, liberty, or property "without due process of law." His house may not be searched unless a warrant has been issued for that purpose. Soldiers may not be quartered there without his consent except in time of war, and then only if he is properly paid for any loss he suffers. He may keep and bear arms for his own defense.

Under what circumstances should a man be allowed to carry a deadly weapon?

If he is accused of crime, he must be indicted by a grand jury (§ 134) before he is tried. He is entitled to a trial by jury and to have a lawyer and witnesses in his behalf. He cannot be compelled to testify against himself. If he is once acquitted, he cannot be tried again for the same offense. Excessive bail must not be demanded when he is under arrest, and if he is convicted, no cruel and unusual punishment may be inflicted or unreasonable fine imposed.

(2) **Personal Liberty.** — A citizen may go wherever he wishes and do whatever he desires, so long as he violates no law of the state and does not interfere with the equal rights of others. No man may be held as a slave. Every citizen may worship as he pleases. He has the right of free speech, a free press, and freedom to meet with other citizens and to petition the government to relieve injustice.

Why are people sometimes arrested for holding meetings?

Should a man have the right to work when, for whom, and for what price he pleases?

The writ of *habeas corpus*, inherited from England, is regarded as a sacred privilege to be used in defense of both the rights we have mentioned. If a person is arrested and held in prison, his friends may go before a judge and secure a writ, or order, commanding the officer in charge of the



PURE MILK?

Do you think this dump affected the city's milk supply? Has the owner of this lot the right to use his private property as he pleases?

prisoner to bring him before the judge for a hearing. The judge will then decide whether the prisoner shall be tried at once, let out on bail, or treated in some other reasonable way.

The object of the writ of *habeas corpus* is to prevent the holding of a person in prison indefinitely without giving him a trial. In time of war or other serious public danger, when it may be necessary to keep men under guard who are suspected of disloyalty, spying, or other offensive conduct, the writ may be suspended.

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(3) **Private Property.** — A citizen is free to acquire, make use of, and dispose of, possessions of any kind, in a lawful and honorable way, without interference from any one. This right is fundamental, like the others, for upon it rests the entire foundation of modern business and trade. The government itself is forbidden to take private property, even for public use, without fair payment.

Under what conditions should a man not be permitted to use his private property in any way that suits him?

If your rights in the use of property conflict with another man's right to life, health, or happiness, which should give way?

Discuss the limitations which must be accepted to any of these rights in order to permit others the equal enjoyment of them. Should we have rights against our governments as well as against persons? Does the citizen exist for the benefit of his country or the government for the benefit of the citizen? Are all men created equal? with equal rights? Is there danger that in time of peace citizens will be denied any of their rights?

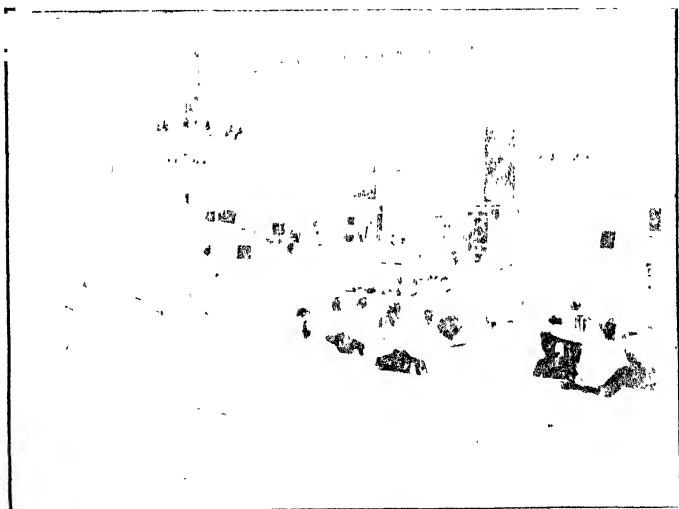
133. Measures to Prevent Wrong. — It is more desirable that wrong should be prevented than that it should be punished when committed. Courts not lower than the county courts have the right, with that thought in view, to issue orders which are intended to prevent the commission of a crime or act of disorder. The writ of *mandamus* is an order to a public officer, a person, or a corporation to attend to some duty which ought to be done but has been neglected.

Courts may also issue injunctions. An *injunction* orders a person or body of persons not to perform some act which appears to be dangerous or improper, or which may deprive some one else of his rights. If it appears after a time that the proposed act will not do any harm, the injunction will be set aside, but while it is in force any disregard of it may be punished.

Each state has a *statute of limitations* which requires that, except in very serious matters, prosecutions must be brought within a certain time after an act has been committed. Sometimes this works so as to enable bad men to

escape deserved punishment; but the idea underlying it is to relieve a man from endless worry or prosecution for an act which **did** not seem serious enough to demand attention at the time it was committed, or which occurred so long ago that to bring it up after years had passed would serve no other purpose than spite or revenge.

134. The Proceedings in a Criminal Case. — But suppose a crime has been committed. Let us follow from beginning



A COURT ROOM.

to end the steps connected with the trial of a case as it would usually be conducted in the lowest organized court in a state's judicial system. We will take as an example a case of burglary.

Naturally the first step is to get the suspected person. The *arrest* may be made by an officer who sees a person committing a crime or finds him under suspicious circumstances; or it may be made after a *warrant* has been issued authorizing it. In the latter case a detective or some other person must

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have made a complaint telling why a person should be arrested.

Next the supposed burglar is taken before a police magistrate or alderman, if we are in a city, or before a justice of the peace, if we are in a smaller community. The justice conducts a *hearing*, to find what the charge is and why the arrest has been made. If he thinks the man may be guilty, he will hold him for trial in the proper court. If the man has friends who will go on his *bail*, he may go free till time for the trial. His friends agree to pay a certain sum of money in case he does not appear when the trial is called.

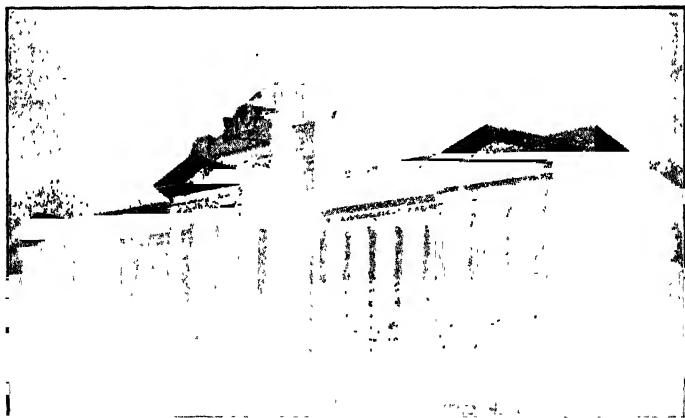
The district attorney presents to the *grand jury* the main features of the evidence against the accused person. One such body, composed of voters of the county, is summoned for each session of the criminal court. Twenty-four persons are sent for by the jury commissioners and the sheriff. If all can attend, one is excused, so that there may be an uneven number. Twelve must agree on an indictment, even though as small a number as sixteen are qualified to act.¹ If the grand jury thinks that there is a chance of convicting the accused, they will "find a true bill," and draw up an *indictment*, or formal charge, against him. If they believe there is no possibility of conviction, they will "ignore the bill," and the accused man will be released.

135. A Trial. — If the man is indicted, his case is set for trial before the court. When its turn arrives, a *petit jury* of twelve men is drawn from the whole number who have been summoned for jury service at the session of court then being held. The district attorney or his assistant acts as the lawyer for the "Commonwealth of Massachusetts" (for example) and brings witnesses to show that the defendant is guilty. The accused man's lawyer brings witnesses in his behalf. Each has the right to cross-examine the witnesses for the other side.

¹ In some states the grand jury does not have twenty-three members.

Each attorney sums up his case and tries to win the jury's favor in a closing speech. The judge then "charges" the jury, telling them the laws that apply to the case and mentioning the points of fact which they ought not to overlook in reaching their conclusions.

The jury then retire from the courtroom for deliberation. They must be all agreed if a verdict of "guilty" or "not guilty" is found. When an agreement is reached or it appears that no agreement can be reached, the jury will



THE COUNTY COURT-HOUSE, PUEBLO, COLORADO.

announce the fact to the court, and will then be discharged from consideration of that case.

If the *verdict* is "guilty," the judge will impose a sentence. This varies, according to the offense, from a few days' imprisonment or a few dollars' fine to a heavy fine or a long term in the penitentiary, or both fine and imprisonment. In the case of willful murder the penalty is death or life imprisonment, depending on the law of the state where the crime is committed. In other crimes the judge is generally allowed some discretion concerning the amount of a fine or the length of a term of imprisonment.

If the jury says "not guilty," the accused is discharged

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and cannot be tried again for the same offense. If the jury disagrees, the case may be tried over again in the same court. If a convicted man's lawyer thinks he can convince the higher court that something was done improperly in the course of the trial, that the judge was mistaken in some ruling, or that the law was incorrectly applied in some way, he may *appeal*, in the hope that the higher court may order a new trial. But if the higher court decides against him, the man must serve his sentence.

What kind of people are most suitable for jurors? Is that the kind that are commonly obtained in your neighborhood? How are they secured? Some details of the processes described in Sections 134 to 136 may be slightly different in your state. Note such differences, if they exist.

136. The Proceedings in a Civil Suit. — Our courts exist just as much to enable individuals to get justice when they have been wronged by others as to enable the state to punish criminals. Cases between citizens are *civil suits*.

The parties in a civil suit are the *plaintiff*, who brings the charges, and the *defendant*, who is sued. The plaintiff's lawyer files a complaint with the proper officer of the county court, giving the reason why he thinks the defendant has wronged him and ought to pay money "damages" because of this wrong. This official notifies the defendant. If he admits the truth of the charges, *judgment* will be entered against him at once. If he denies any obligation such as the plaintiff claims, his attorney will file an answer. The case will then be placed on the "docket" of the Court.

From this point on, the process of trial is very much like that of a criminal case. The plaintiff's attorney takes the place of the district attorney, and the jury is often called a "traverse jury." If the jury finds in favor of the plaintiff, the defendant will be compelled to make a money payment.

Does the amount of money a man has make any difference in his treatment by the courts? If you were being tried, would you rather have a judge or a jury decide whether you were guilty?

137. Traitors and Other Bad Citizens. — Everybody hates a traitor, even those who benefit by what he does. It is one of the very few offenses for which we consider the death penalty not at all too severe.

Yet it is hard to convict a person of treason, because by our Constitution treason is the making of war on our country or giving aid and comfort to its enemies. The Constitution requires the testimony of two witnesses for the same treasonable act, and so we have had very few trials for treason and fewer convictions.

Yet the traitor is not the only bad citizen. What do you think of the citizen who day after day enjoys the protection and other countless benefits which his government affords him and for some reason or other always tries to dodge the payment of his taxes to support that government? What should we think of a person who is always grumbling about public officers, and the duties which they have not performed, and yet will not take a few minutes of his time to go to the polls on election day to try to get better men installed? What should we think of a person who willfully or deliberately breaks a law and perhaps encourages other people to break it because it may interfere with his personal habits? We have altogether too many of this sort of citizens. Many of them would be offended if we were to tell them that they are bad citizens. Yet if all citizens acted as these citizens do, what would our government amount to? Public officers have no enthusiasm about performing their duties if they fail to get the support of the community in general. If some people break one law, why may not others break other laws?

138. Proofs of Good Citizenship. — Most people think and talk more about their own rights than about the rights of others or their own duties. It would not be fair to leave our discussion of citizenship without suggesting the fact that rights and opportunities bring obligations along with them. Sometimes people do not get all their rights. Sometimes, though rarely, an innocent man is sent to prison.

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But far more common are those who sneak out of the performance of their just duties and who treat the opportunities of a free country as so many more chances for selfish advancement.

The "square deal" ought to be the aim of every citizen. We talk often, for example, about the "right" to vote. Voting is *not* a right. It is a privilege which the state gives to those whom it considers fitted to exercise it. And it is



PRESIDENT WILSON CASTING HIS BALLOT.

If a busy President can take time to go from Washington to his home town to vote, should not the ordinary citizen go a block or two, or even a mile or two, to do so? Many states now have "absent voters" laws, so that a voter who knows he will be out of town on election day can arrange to obtain and send back a ballot by mail.

a privilege which every voter ought to exercise with care, thoughtfulness, and honesty. It is a citizen's duty, if he has the voting power, to use it, and to use it only after he has thought carefully about the issues of an election and the men who are candidates for office.

Should voting be made compulsory?

When men have been elected and laws are made, it is a citizen's duty to respect their authority. If he does not like them, he has the privilege of trying to get them changed by the peaceful means that are open to every citizen, but he has no right to refuse to obey them.

Europeans say we are the most lawless people in the civilized world. Is that true? Whether true or not, is it complimentary? Does the amount of law in existence affect the extent of a citizen's rights? What do you think the Declaration of Independence meant in saying that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"?

The way a person answers questions like the following will be a fairly good test of the kind of citizen he is:

Should a person pay taxes willingly? Does the world owe every man a living, regardless of how much he does himself? Is it a man's duty to serve as a juror, if he is summoned? Does it make any difference to the community if you are careless about your own health or property? Is a line of conduct justifiable in business or politics which is justifiable in private life? Is it a citizen's duty to give information to the authorities about lawbreakers? Is it ever a citizen's right or duty to take the law into his own hands? Should a public officer enforce some laws and neglect others? How can you, as a citizen not yet in full possession of all the rights and privileges of citizenship, best help in the cause of good government and social welfare?

Good citizenship depends upon the conscience of the individual and upon the protection of rights given by our government to all who are entitled to receive them. But it is not one-sided. It not only brings privileges, but carries obligations.

QUESTIONS

Give a definition of *citizen*. Who are citizens in the United States? Are you? In what respects do the duties or privileges of an alien differ from those of a citizen? What difference of opinion has existed between nations in regard to transferring citizenship? When this takes place, what should be the citizen's feeling toward the land of his first citizenship?

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By what means have persons at some time or other acquired American citizenship?

Explain the process of naturalization. Can an alien become naturalized by another's act? Who may not be naturalized?

To what extent is a person's citizenship affected by moving from one state to another?

Explain the three general rights of American citizenship. Give four or five special applications of each general right. Explain *habeas corpus*; *eminent domain*. Show with each special right the limits which are placed upon it by the equal rights of others.

Define *mandamus*; *injunction*; *statute of limitations*.

Outline the steps that are taken in the process of bringing to trial a person accused of committing a crime. Make clear the difference between the grand jury and the petit jury. Describe the chief features in the conduct of the trial itself. What follows or may follow the announcement of the verdict?

Outline the preliminary proceedings in a civil suit. Wherein does the course of events differ from the trial of a criminal case?

Which are more important, rights or duties? Are voting, office holding, and obedience to the laws, rights, duties, or both?

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Naturalization Court. (If copies of the form to be filled out by an alien at his declaration of intention, or of a naturalization certificate can be secured, it will make the matter seem more real.)

German-Americans during the Great War.

Patriotism in War Time.

Patriotism in Peace.

A Visit to a Trial in Court. (Let the whole class attend if possible. If not, try to have a few attend, and then plan out a mock trial for the whole class. If you do this, be careful about the form of oath you administer to the witnesses. No one should ever, even in fun, agree to tell "the whole truth," etc., unless he does tell it.)

Some Commonly Neglected Duties of Good Citizenship.

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Tufts: The Real Business of Living, Chapters 33, 34, 38-40.

Magruder: American Government, Chapters 15, 22.

McPheters, Cleveland, Jones: Citizenship Dramatized.

Subpoenas, indictments, and other legal forms used in court procedure.

CHAPTER XX

OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

*But there is neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the
ends of the earth. — Kipling.*

*Only free people can hold their purpose and their honor to a common
end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their
own. — Wilson.*

If we are loyal to our own government, must we distrust or hate others? What relation with foreign countries is desirable, unselfish, and practical? How can we most effectively coöperate with other well-disposed nations to maintain peace and justice in the world?

139. The Foundation of International Relationships. — The time has passed, if it ever existed, when a nation would be justified in trying to provide wholly for its own needs without having anything to do with other nations. Commerce, the spread of knowledge about other countries, a common interest in religion, learning, and the arts of civilization, have drawn all parts of the world more closely together than any two adjoining countries could have been in ancient or mediæval times.

When questions came up from time to time in which two or more nations felt a common interest, and they wished either to settle a quarrel or prevent one, it came to be the custom to enter into a formal agreement, known as a *treaty*, by which each party agreed to do or not to do certain things. Other customs which might not happen to be written down in any treaty came to be observed regularly by states in their dealings with each other.

A Dutch jurist called Hugo Grotius published in 1625 a book which received surprising attention from the monarchs

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of his day, and which set forth clearly the principles which ought to guide states in their relations in both peace and war. From his day to ours the principles which he laid down have been expanded and made clear by state papers of various kinds, peace conferences, and other methods, until we have a fairly definite system of principles which we call International Law.

International Law is defined by Professor Lawrence as "the rules which determine the conduct of the general body of civilized states in their dealings with one another." In one important respect it differs from other law — there is no sovereign authority to enforce it. It must depend upon the moral sentiment of the civilized world. In case a state deliberately disregards it, war may be the only means of compelling such a state to respect its rules. Notice that in this chapter we use the word "state" in its broad, general sense. It means an independent country, not one of the parts of our Union.

Could the United States supply all the needs of its people in peace or war? Would it be desirable to attempt to do so?

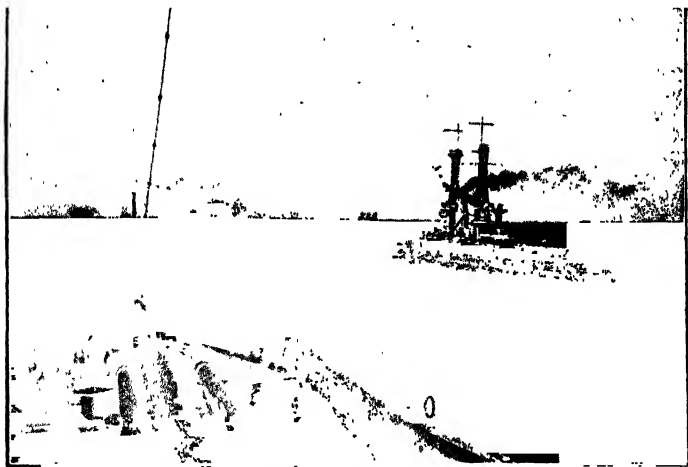
140. The Rights of States. — It is generally agreed that a state has a right to decide upon its own form of government and to manage its own internal affairs as long as it protects the life and property of the citizens of other states who have interests there. A state has jurisdiction over all the land and water within its boundaries, and over the waters for three miles from the coast. All persons and things within the borders of a state are subject to its jurisdiction, with the exception of foreign sovereigns or their representatives.

Why was the "three-mile limit" agreed upon? If the rule were being made new to-day, do you think that distance would be adopted?

Pirates may be dealt with by any state that gets hold of them, but other criminals are not subject to punishment by a state where their crime was not committed. Most civilized

nations now have extradition treaties in force, under which a runaway criminal will be returned for trial to the country where the crime was committed, unless it was a "political" offense, such as taking part in rebellion.

141. Foreign Representatives. — In order to carry on negotiations with other governments and to look out for their own interests, modern states regularly send persons to reside in other countries and to represent them there. The foreign representatives of the United States are under the direction



THE ATLANTIC DREADNAUGHT FLEET IN MANOEUVRES.

of the Department of State. They are classified as diplomatic representatives and consuls.

The diplomatic representatives include: (1) *Ambassadors*. These were once the personal representatives from the head of one government to the head of another, and are always recognized as of higher rank than any other. We send them now to most of the larger countries. (2) *Envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary*. Their duties are about the same as those of ambassadors, the difference being chiefly one of rank. We send persons with this

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title to the civilized nations to whom we do not send ambassadors. (3) *Chargés d'affaires* and other minor officers. They do not at ordinary times exercise much responsibility, but may sometimes be intrusted with a special mission or occasionally be left in temporary charge of an embassy.

Consuls are stationed in important cities all over the globe. Their duties are: (1) to assist, in any proper way, American citizens who may come into their neighborhood, such as protecting them from harm, making out legal papers, or communicating with the home country; (2) to act as the business agents of the United States, keeping an eye on trade conditions, the prices of commodities, openings for American business, and the like.

Positions in the consular service, as well as some in the diplomatic service, are now generally filled through civil service examination. The salaries paid by the United States in either the diplomatic or consular service are not large, in comparison with those paid by some countries. Only a man with a private income will risk the drain on his pocket-book produced by residence in the great European capitals in the station of an ambassador.

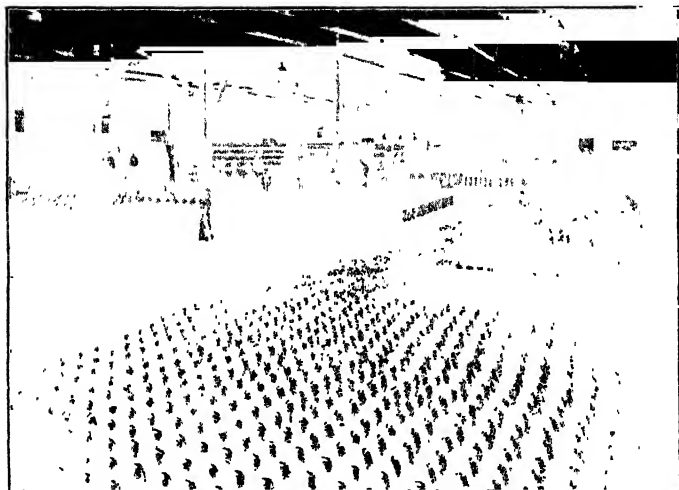
A diplomatic representative takes the place of his sovereign, and therefore is not subject to the laws of the country where he is stationed, but to those of his own nation. To a less degree the same exemption applies to members of the minister's family and to his servants.

If, however, a minister so conducts himself as to be personally objectionable — "*persona non grata*" — the government to which he was sent may demand that he be recalled. Washington's request for the recall of the French minister Genet, and Wilson's of the Austrian ambassador Dumba, are notable instances of the exercise of this right. If the reason is merely a personal one, the other country has no right to take offense. In fact a government always inquires before sending an ambassador whether a certain particular person will be acceptable.

The chauffeur of the German ambassador was once arrested by a local constable for speeding. What constitutional or international bearing would this case have?

Name the present American ambassadors to the leading countries. Do you know the names of any of their representatives here?

142. Enforcing Treaties and Obligations. — “In the eyes of international law treaties are made to be kept.” A nation’s word ought to be as good as an individual’s, and



IN A BELGIAN MUNITION-FACTORY.

Belgium had a good reason for making these things in 1914–1918, but what an awful waste of time, money, and metal to do this year after year!

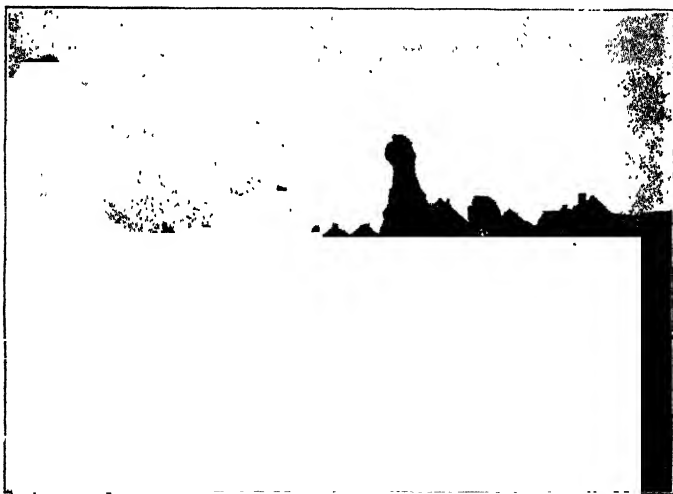
probably there are as many nations that intend to keep their word as there are individuals, in a group of the same number. Of course a treaty may be set aside by the consent of nations that made it. Any nation should have the right to withdraw from an agreement, but should give the other nations concerned proper notice. Yet what are we to do in case a nation seems indisposed to keep its obligations?

There ought to be a sort of international public sentiment that would make itself felt in such an impressive way when

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occasion required that no nation would dare to act contrary to its pledge. Yet sometimes excuses are offered to the effect that a nation must protect its own interests first, as if it had a right to put self-interest, or what seemed to be self-interest, ahead of honor. The queer part of it is that sometimes when such a thing arises the nation which has done the harm will appear to be perfectly sincere in justifying itself. *

It seems as if war has been the only way to punish a treaty-breaking nation. When in 1914 Germany broke the treaty



WHAT WAR DID TO A BELGIAN VILLAGE.

that was supposed to guarantee the neutrality of Belgium, war was the only means of resistance that was possible. Other nations have at times acted in such a way as to suggest that they think there is no such thing as international public sentiment, although it is true that every nation on going into war wants to make the world think that it has a good cause.

But war is a horrible thing. The "next war," which some

people seem to enjoy talking about, will be more dreadful than any we have had. It has been suggested that pressure could be brought upon offending nations by cutting off their trade with the rest of the world, but this cannot be done without affecting other nations. It is one purpose of the League of Nations to make it more easy to get all nations to act alike with reference to a nation which seems to have broken its word.

What justification was offered or might be offered for entering each war that the United States has had part in? Under what circumstances, if any, would it be right to break a treaty?

143. Settling International Disagreements Peacefully. — The man who takes the law into his own hands has no longer a place in a civilized community. He has the courts which he may call upon to deal with those who have wronged him. Can there not be some peaceful way by which nations can settle disagreements that arise between them?

One sensible way to deal with cases like this is to call upon some impartial or disinterested persons and submit the case to them. That is what we mean by *arbitration*. If a nation loses before a board of arbitration, it will not have lost its honor nor the lives of thousands of its citizens, nor the billions of dollars that a war would have cost. Great Britain and the United States have set the world a good example in this respect — not to mention the many times that the two powers have compromised their differences and reached a settlement without outside help.

What seemed at one time a most hopeful step was the meeting of the representatives of the leading governments at The Hague in 1889. The Czar of Russia had invited all nations to attend such a gathering, proposing that they agree on the reduction of armaments, and take other steps so as to prevent war. A second conference was held in the same place in 1907.

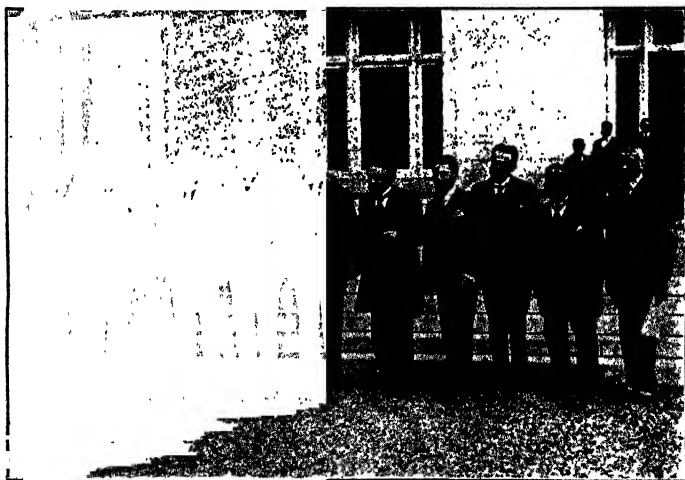
These meetings accomplished virtually nothing in the way of reduction of armies and navies, but a system of arbitration

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for international disagreements was set up, which is usually known as the Hague Court of Arbitration. Our own country and other countries settled a number of cases by this means. But when the crisis which led to the Great War suddenly came on the world, Austria refused to permit the court to consider the case, and the other nations were helpless to bring about a peaceful settlement.

Would a nation ever be justified in refusing to submit to arbitration a dispute in which it was concerned?

When Bryan was our Secretary of State he urged the idea that if nations would take time to cool off before going into



LEADERS OF THE NATIONS AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

Our Secretary Hughes is in the center of the group. He was very influential in the activities of the conference. At his right is Balfour of Great Britain, at his left Briand of France.

war about some dispute, the folly of fighting would be realized by both sides. He therefore made a great many treaties with the other powers of the world, in which they agreed to observe this helpful suggestion. The question still remained,

however, as to what should be done when a nation would not arbitrate or take time to think things over.

A notable conference attended by delegates from nine important countries met at Washington in 1921 and 1922, at the invitation of President Harding. Agreements were reached looking toward the restriction of the navies of the nations that were represented; and several agreements were made which seemed valuable with reference to our relations with Japan.

144. The League of Nations and the World Court. — At the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919 President Wilson strove heroically for the establishment of some thorough and far-reaching means of averting future wars. As a result, there was drawn up a covenant for a League of Nations of which all well-disposed peoples might become members. This League has a *council* supposed to contain one representative each from the United States (thus far not represented), the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, and (now six) others selected by the *assembly*. In the Assembly, each of the fifty-five member states has from one to three delegates, but only one vote. The Council chooses a secretary-general who has permanent charge of the League headquarters at Geneva.

All international disputes which cannot be settled by the nations concerned must be submitted to arbitration. Nations which are unwilling to abide by the rules and decisions of the League are to be boycotted by the other nations, and the Council of the League may in extreme cases propose a military and naval force to compel nations to conduct themselves properly. National armaments are to be reduced and the private manufacture of arms restricted as far as practicable. All treaties must be registered with the secretary-general and published by him.

In the League Covenant it was provided that a *Permanent Court of International Justice* should be organized. This has now been done. It is composed of eleven persons chosen by the League Council and Assembly, but, like our Supreme

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Court, after being chosen it has perfect independence of action. About one-third of the nations of the League agreed to refer to it all cases in which they may be interested. The other members are doing their share in supporting the Court, but have not agreed to submit every case to it. The Court meets at The Hague, but it differs from the old Hague Court in being a permanent body and being definitely organ-



WHERE AMERICAN SOLDIER BOYS ARE BURIED.

The American cemetery at Belleau Wood in France. Up on the hill at the left occurred some of the sharpest and bravest fighting of the Great War.

ized for this particular purpose of settling disputes between nations on the basis of right and justice.

The relation of our country to the League of Nations and the World Court is still unsettled. For reasons which we will not undertake to explain here, the United States Senate failed to give a two-thirds vote in favor of the Versailles Treaty, and therefore this country did not become a "charter" member of the League. Presidents Harding and Coolidge thought that this country should support the Court without entering the League, and there now seems a strong possibility that this step may soon be taken.

Is all this thought of world peace a dream? Why need it be only a dream unless some nations want something else than justice and a square deal? Do you think that the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States is an aid or a hindrance to world peace? What problems are likely to cause the most difficulty for the League of Nations? Is there any reason why the United States should hesitate about participating in such a league?

If America is to be the great advocate of peace and democracy, we must not shut our eyes to the possibilities of gaining a world-wide friendship and position of leadership in international intercourse.

QUESTIONS

Explain the conditions which make it impossible for a wise nation to live by itself. Define *treaty*; *international law*. How did international law originate? How great is the extent of a state's authority over persons and things?

What is the reason for sending representatives to foreign countries? Describe the three classes of diplomatic representatives. What rights does a diplomat have when in the country to which he is sent? Explain the duties of a consul. How is he chosen?

What guarantee is there that treaties will be kept if they are made? Is there any way short of war that will be available to compel the keeping of a treaty?

Exactly what is meant by *arbitration*? Give some notable instances of its use. Have the Hague Peace Conferences been of any real value to the world? Explain the influences that brought about the establishment of the League of Nations. Describe the organization and work of the World Court.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Requirements and Duties of an Ambassador to a Great Nation.

International Law in the Great War.

The Relations of the United States to the Great War.

The Story of the Hague Peace Conferences.

Pirates.

The Red Cross Society.

The Peace Conference of 1919 and Its Accomplishments.

The Work of the League of Nations.

The Permanent Court of International Justice.

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PART III

PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

CHAPTER XXI

OUR ECONOMIC LIFE

The only place where you can get away from opportunity is to lie down and die. — Hubbard.

Political and social interests are big factors in our lives, but just as important is the economic phase of the story. We are all human and have many material needs and wants. By what means do we satisfy these desires and how are these means obtained?

145. Economic Influences in Community Life. — Our homes, our churches, and our schools, are engaged in a work whose value is not likely to be estimated too highly, but they alone cannot, even with the powerful help of our government, provide all that the community of to-day needs or thinks it needs. Nature has so constructed us that we need two or three meals a day, and it is neither fashionable nor comfortable to try to get along without clothes. There are countless other things which we are all the time asking for. Many of them we could get along without, but they add much to our comfort and convenience, such as telephones and automobiles and porch swings. Thousands of other articles which are produced add only to our pleasure.

The more people there are in a community the more extensive is the demand for all these things, and the wider is the range of occupations which a community can offer its members. Whether the community is large or small, the economic side of its life, that is, the phase of its activities

which is concerned with earning a living, has a very wide effect upon almost everything that is done by it or for it.

Try to imagine yourself living in your community about the time it was first settled. See if you can trace the steps by which first one occupation and then another was introduced, and why. How many of the occupations represented in your community are really not necessary to its well-being and progress? Are any of them actually harmful? Does a community have wants as a group which its members would not have as individuals?

146. The Factors in Production. — The economist says there are four factors or agencies that help in producing



CAPITAL AT WORK.

Observe the various forms of land, labor, and capital in this picture.

the things that we use to satisfy our needs or pleasures. He defines them as follows:

(1) *Land* is any gift of nature which is used in producing goods. Water which is used to turn mill-wheels and the trees which grow in the forest are land, in this sense. A longer expression that means the same thing is *natural resources*.

(2) *Labor* is any activity of men which helps in the production of goods. This need not be physical labor alone.

(3) *Capital* is any product of labor that is used for producing more goods. Iron and wood, which are a form of land, are changed by the labor of several people into a shovel. Then if the shovel is used to throw coal into a furnace or to help in removing the ashes from a mill it has been used as a form of capital.

By all means get the idea that a great many other things than money may be capital. In fact a great many people are capitalists without knowing it.

(4) *Management* is the oversight and direction of industry. It brings the other three factors together and determines how and when each shall be used.

Those who contribute something which makes production possible expect to receive something in return. The return that goes to the owner of land for the part it plays in the production is *rent*. We frequently use that word in a sense that includes more than the economist means. The return that goes to labor is called *wages*. The return that the owners of capital receive is *interest*. The return that goes to those who contribute managing ability is called *profits*.

Is any one of these more important than the others? Why do you think so?

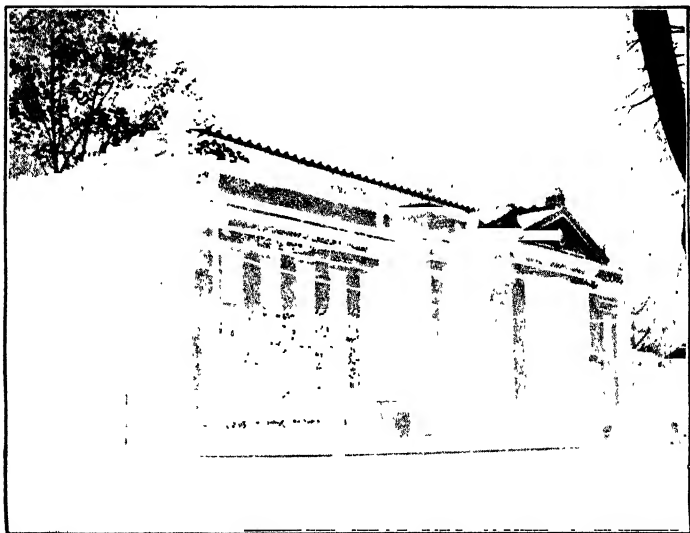
147. Property, Public and Private. — The sum of all the material things in the world is called *wealth*. But be sure that you understand the difference between capital and wealth. Capital is a part of wealth. Clothing, pleasure cars, and books all are forms of wealth which are usually not capital, since they are seldom directly used in the production of something more.

A word that means nearly the same as wealth is *property*. *Public* property is that which belongs to the people as a whole. *Private* property is that which is subject to the use and control of one or more individuals. Virtually all the property in existence is owned by some institution, corporation, or person. A playground may be the property of a city. A chair may be owned by the Chamber of Commerce, or by John Smith. Yellowstone Park and the Capitol at Washington are the property of the whole nation.

Real property, which we often call real estate, includes everything that is fixed and permanent in its character. Land is real property. *Personal* property includes all that

is movable and may with reasonable ease be carried around with a person wherever he goes. Money, household furniture, stocks and bonds are personal property.

Just as much care and attention should be given to the management of our public property as to private property. Yet very often people seem to care very little about preserving a thing that cost the government a considerable amount. This is one reason why taxes are higher than they need



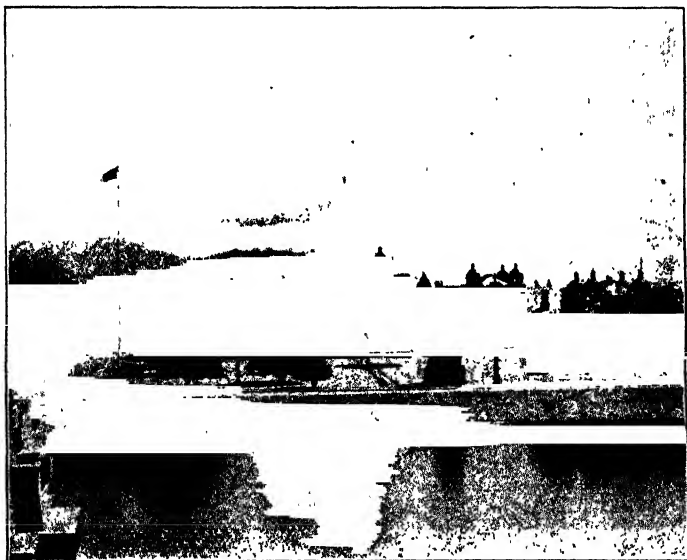
THE REGISTRY OF DEEDS, DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS.
Considerable county business is done in this building.

to be. But the largest part of our wealth is in some form of private property.

"Possession is nine points of the law," says a familiar proverb. Perhaps, but possession and ownership are not the same thing. Unless something is known to the contrary, possession of personal property is considered evidence of ownership, but even this class of property may sometimes be held and used subject to certain conditions. A person does not have full ownership of property unless it is his to

dispose of as he sees fit and to pass on to his heirs at his death. The three common ways of transferring ownership are by inheritance, gift, and sale.

148 Contracts. — A *contract* is a definite agreement between two or more persons to do or not to do some particular thing. The term is applied to many different transactions. Hardly anything is done in the business world that is not

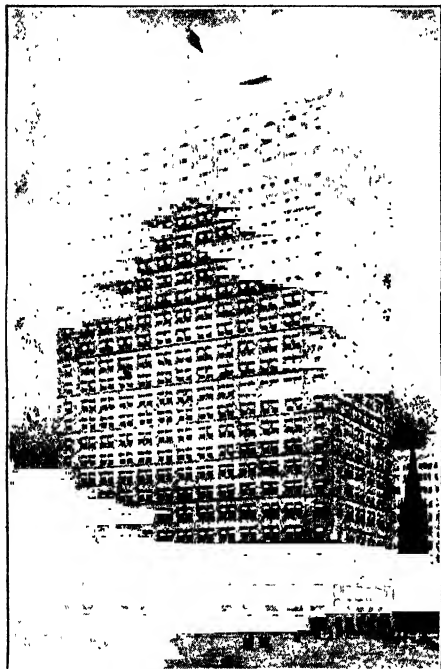


PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The grounds in front face directly upon the harbor and are exceedingly beautiful.

connected with the making or carrying out of a contract, expressed or implied. When a person is engaged to work for another an implied contract to pay him is understood. A postal money order is an implied contract to pay the amount mentioned. Without the power of making contracts and the assurance that contracts would be kept, modern business would be impossible.

So important is the certainty that a contract will be executed that the national Constitution specifically forbids a state to pass any law "impairing the obligation of a contract." The Supreme Court has interpreted this word very broadly, too. In the famous Dartmouth College case it



A MODERN OFFICE BUILDING.

declared that the charter of a college is a contract. In the case of *Fletcher vs. Peck* it declared that land grants by a state legislature are contracts.

Bankruptcy laws perhaps come the nearest of any laws to "impairing the obligation of a contract." A *bankrupt* is a person who has been legally declared unable to pay his debts. The national Constitution gives Congress the power to pass uniform bankruptcy laws, but that power was not in use except for two

brief periods until the present law was passed in 1898. Meanwhile each state made its own laws to cover the matter.

A person who wishes to take advantage of the bankruptcy laws must turn over all his property, with some few exemptions, and allow it to be applied to the payment of as large a part of his debts as it will meet. Then he will be allowed to start business anew.

An honest man will feel bound to pay his old debts in full

as soon as he is able to do so. Men have been known to abuse the privilege by going into bankruptcy when it was not necessary, and have even made money by doing so. But the object of the law is simply to give a new start to a person who has been unfortunate in business and is so hopelessly tied up that a new deal will be welcome to his creditors as well as himself.

To satisfy human wants is the impulse which makes the great wheels of our nation's activities rotate. To produce what we need and to preserve the right to enjoy the things we help to produce are essential to our happiness and welfare as individuals and as a people.

QUESTIONS

Define "economic activities." Show their importance in a community. Trace the economic development of your own community. Has it all been good?

Define the factors in production. Compare them in importance. Explain the returns received by each factor.

Explain the kinds of property. By what means may property be acquired?

What is a *contract*? What does the national Constitution say about contracts? Can *you* make a contract? Define *bankruptcy*. Is any moral principle involved in taking advantage of bankruptcy laws?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Legal Standing of a Person under Age in Regard to Property and Contracts.

Resolved, that a first mortgage in real estate is the safest kind of investment.

The Industries of Our Community.

Public Property in Our Community.

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CHAPTER XXII

BUSINESS RELATIONSHIPS

If a man writes a better book, preaches a better sermon, or makes a better mouse-trap than his neighbor, though he build his house in the woods, the world will make a beaten path to his door. — Hubbard.

The way we do things plays an important rôle in our economic life. What methods have been developed for carrying on our industrial activities? How do the various activities of business organizations affect us, even though we may be directly connected with only one or none at all?

149. Changes in Industrial Methods. — There was a time when almost all business was done on a small scale. A business might be carried on in a part of a dwelling-house or at least in a shop attached to the house. There have been employers and employees for nobody knows how many centuries. Until less than two centuries ago no one employer had more than a very few workers under him. The captain of a large ship often commanded more men than any employer on land had under his control, but at that the captain might not own the ship. Until less than two centuries ago the greater part of all work was done by hand. Big machines were unknown.

Within the latter half of the eighteenth century there began a period of tremendous change, which is known as the Industrial Revolution. A number of great inventions appeared, especially those connected with spinning and weaving. About the same time the steam engine came into use, first for power, then for locomotion. Factories were built which gave work to thousands of people. It was possible, henceforth, to go into business on an enormous scale. Busi-

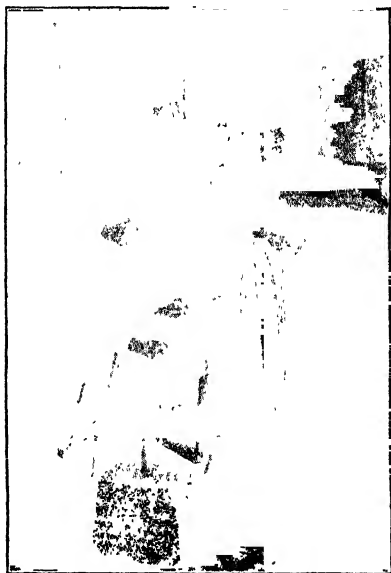
ness methods and ideas were completely made over. Greater industrial changes have occurred in the last hundred years than took place in the previous fifty centuries.

150. Forms of Business Organization. — The simplest form of business management is that in which one man assumes the entire responsibility for the operation of an enterprise — the *single proprietorship*.

To obtain the benefit of more than one mind and to share responsibility, two or three or even more persons may join in a *partnership*. Each member contributes something to the conduct of the business, and each shares in the profit or loss in proportion to the part he is supposed to have contributed.

The most common way to carry on extensive business to-day is to organize a *corporation* under a charter from some

state government. Every state has laws about organizing corporations, but some states are much less strict than others. The charter of the corporation mentions the kind of business which it may engage in and the amount of stock which it may issue. The stock is sold in shares which are most often valued at \$100 each, and the profits are divided among the stockholders in proportion to the amount of stock which they hold. If the stockholders are numerous they elect a board of directors, with a president, vice president,



AS IT USED TO BE DONE.

This Norwegian woman still spins in the same way every woman did once.

and other officers, and these officers actually manage the business of the corporation.

A corporation may obtain money through the sale of stocks or bonds.

Stocks are issued to those who invest money in their business. Usually a stockholder in a corporation has one vote for each share



MULE ROOM IN A SOUTHERN WOOLEN MILL.

Compare this method of work with the sort shown on page 303.

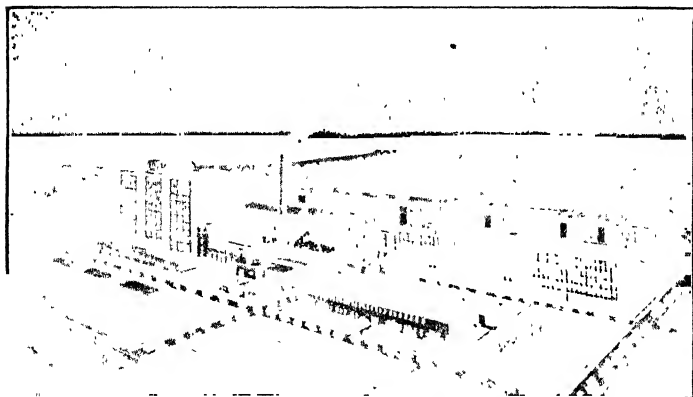
of stock that he owns. Stocks are often of two kinds. *Preferred stock* carries a fixed rate of interest, which must be paid out of the profits of the business before any other payments are made. *Common stock* receives whatever is left after the preferred stock has been attended to. If the business is very profitable, the income on common stock may be greater than on preferred, but it is likely to vary from year to year according to the prosperity of the business.

Bonds are promises to pay, much like a promissory note. They

usually are arranged to run for a fixed length of time, with interest payable annually, semi-annually, or quarterly. They form a definite obligation against the company or government which issues them, and interest on them must be paid when due if credit is to be maintained, but the bondholder has no voice in the management of the business.

What is meant by this: "D. L. & W. sold at 240, B. & M. at 60"? How is this possible? What is a stock exchange?

The corporation has all the privileges and powers before the law that any individual possesses, and some besides.



THE NATIONAL CASH REGISTER COMPANY, DAYTON, OHIO.
A plant in exceptionally fine surroundings.

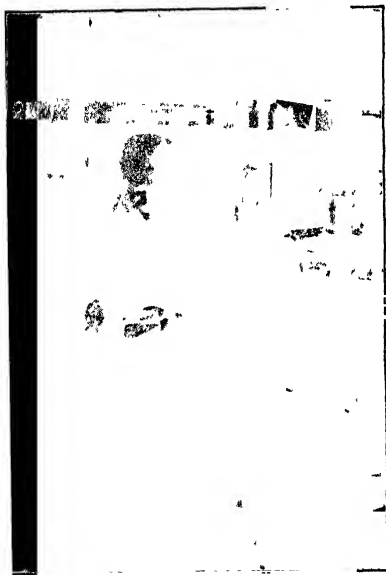
The money of hundreds or even thousands of people can be invested in the business through the sale of stock, and so it can be conducted on a wider scale. The death of one officer or stockholder need not affect the business. Another can take his place, and like Tennyson's "Brook," "men may come and men may go, but " the corporation goes on forever.

Make a diagram that will show the organization of a great business, indicating the relation of its different parts and officials to each other. Perhaps you can secure printed reports published for the benefit of stockholders or the public.

The success of the corporation as a form of business management led to the idea of still further combination of corporations already formed. Such a combination was called a *trust*. Its object was to control as much as possible of the production of some commodity, so that it could regulate prices and buy and sell to the best advantage. The

Standard Oil Company was the first great trust.

In many people's minds almost any corporation that does business on a big scale is looked upon as a trust, but bigness alone does not make a trust. Many of the trusts that were organized were too ambitious or were badly managed and did not prove to be money-makers. There is a very general feeling that business combinations such as this are dangerous, but it is hard to prevent their existence. Much of their business can be done in such a way that the government would find it hard



THE OLD-TIME COBBLER.

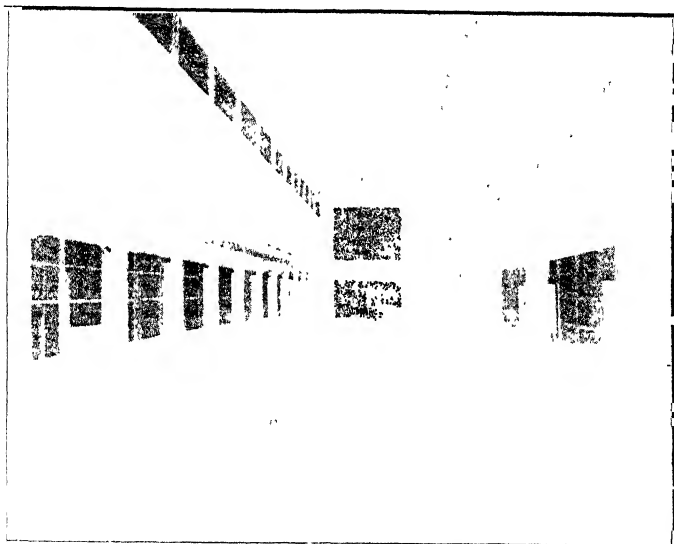
The Italian shoe-repairer of to-day does much of his work by machinery.

to prove that they did anything wrong. Besides, if they are proved guilty, it is hard to inflict punishment. You cannot put a corporation in jail, and moderate fines are hardly felt. The imprisonment of trust officials who disregard the law seems to be about the best way to handle the situation.

With what forms of business organization are the members of your family connected? Would their business be benefited by being organized on the "trust" idea?

Is it possible for a big business organization to control the activities of smaller ones without actually operating them?

In the operations of a trust the feature which we fear most is the trust's effort to control all or at least a very large part of the production of some commodity — in short, to establish a *monopoly*. Along with such a control goes the power of fixing the price and regulating the quantity

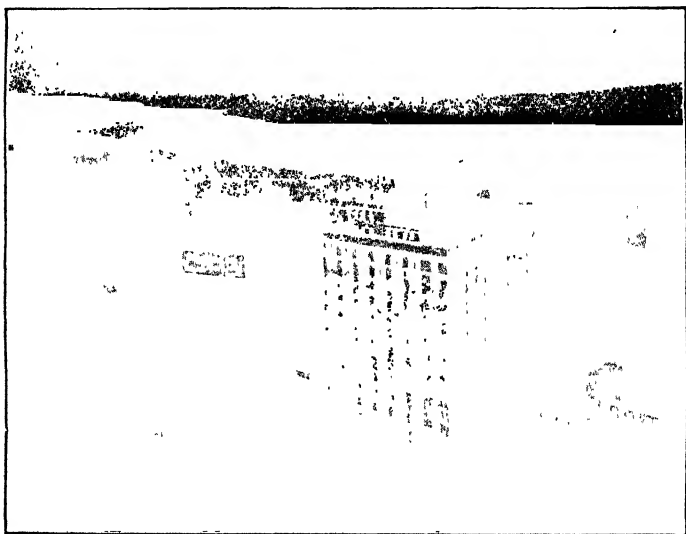


ORDER AND SYSTEM IN A BIG FACTORY.

that is produced. There is always the temptation to use the power of a monopoly without much regard for the interests of the public.

Why may a monopolist not always charge unreasonable prices for his product? Why do not street railway companies charge 25 cents a ride? Give illustrations, from your own knowledge, of different kinds of monopolies. Do any of them charge too much for the service they render? Do any of them charge less than you would be willing to pay if it were necessary? Why?

151. Changes in Industrial Relations. — When men began to employ others by the hundreds and thousands, it was impossible for any one manager to have the same personal relation to his employees as was afforded to any one man who hired only a half-dozen helpers. Before, he had known them all personally; he worked with them and was practically one of them. Afterwards, some employers came to care nothing about their employees. In many factories all that



A BIG CITY DEPARTMENT STORE.

the managers or foremen cared about was how much work they could get out of their "help." Sometimes men were treated as mere machines. If a machine wore out, the manager simply had to get it repaired or get a new one, and when a man was worn out by hard work somebody else was substituted in his place just as one would buy a new saw or hammer.

Some employers wished to have their work done by the cheapest means possible without any regard to the interest

their employees took in doing the work to the best of their ability. Many employers' thoughts were centered only on the way they could make the most profit. They hired cheaply without thought of whether they were getting good workmanship. They did not want to spend money in making the surroundings or the factory itself attractive in appearance; this was not a home, it was a workshop.

The whole relation of employer and employee became just a matter of business machinery. Very few people thought about the evils that it was bringing until the suffering of child workers began to disclose the inhumanity of it all. Then gradually the people began to realize that industry did not need to be merely a soulless system to the extent which it sometimes appears to be.

152. Labor Unions and Their Objects. — One man out of a thousand employed in a large factory can have little influence upon the policy of his employer in regard to wages or conditions of labor, unless he is exceptionally skillful and capable of performing some special service essential to the business. The thousand united in one organization can exert a force that the factory-owner, millionaire though he might be, would hesitate to treat with contempt.

Realizing this fact the workers in many industries have formed themselves into unions, and in countries such as England have acquired a power greater even than they can now exercise here. The union is a permanent body and can map out a policy to follow as readily as the employer, and if its officers are intelligent men, it can plan for the interests of its members for years to come.

A tendency in late years is to bring many different unions into one great federation, on the same principle as the United States itself is organized. The best type of this movement is the *American Federation of Labor*, which now includes 110 national unions and claims a membership of over 4,000,000. Samuel Gompers, its president for many years, ranked with John Mitchell, once head of the United Mine Workers,

among the most intelligent and far-sighted of labor leaders.

The main objects of the unions are to secure higher wages, shorter hours of labor, and better working conditions for their members. As a side issue, unions often provide a fund which may be drawn upon for the payment of benefits in accident or sickness or when members are out on a strike, and they sometimes make direct efforts to encourage the mental improvement of their members and the conditions of life outside the factory. But the union usually emphasizes the idea that the improvement of home conditions can come only through shorter hours to give the worker more time at home and through more pay to enjoy his greater leisure.

What is the difference between "wages" and "salary"? Labor speakers sometimes talk about "wage slaves." What do they mean?

The condition of the laboring man has improved tremendously since the unions came into being. How much of the credit for this improvement is due to the unions and how much is due to a humane and enlightened public sentiment is not easy to determine. No doubt the unions accomplished much in arousing public opinion as well as in working directly for the objects which they desired.

But since the unions came into being, the standard day's work for men has gone down from twelve to eight hours. A dollar a day was once pretty fair pay, but now no street sweeper or garbage collector would think of working for such wages. Factories were once the dirtiest places imaginable, without any more windows than were necessary, and with absolutely no toilet or sanitary conveniences worth the name. Now the best factories are almost as clean as a well-kept house, and are provided with well-equipped rest-and recreation-rooms. The laborer no longer consents to consider his labor merely a thing to be bought and sold like hides and pig iron, and has succeeded in getting Congress to recognize that view of the matter in its laws.

153. Union Methods. — To gain the ends it desires, the union is likely to make use of one or more of three methods, which under favorable conditions may be powerfully effective. The first of these is the practice of *collective bargaining*,



THE PITTSBURGH & LAKE ERIE RAILROAD COMPANY

McKees Rocks, Pa., July 9th, 1923.

.....

Effective July 1st 1923 your rate of
pay will be ~~115.00~~ ^{115.50}..... per month.

This adjustment in salary was
negotiated with representatives of the Brotherhood
of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers,
Express and Station Employees in conference June
28th, 1923.

A.H. Leck,

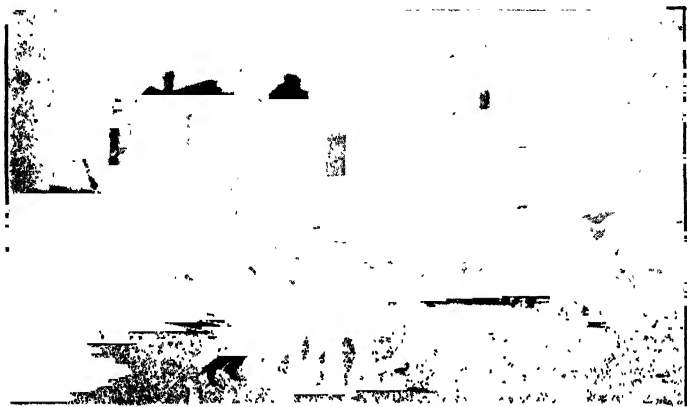
Chief Clerk.

AHL/

AN EXAMPLE OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

which involves the making of the *trade agreement*. This means that instead of letting each workman make whatever terms he can with his employer, the officers of the union carry on the discussion in behalf of all their members. If the officers and the employer can agree on terms, they sign an agreement which binds both parties for a period, usually, of one to three years. To make this power of collective bar-

gaining effective the unions favor a "union shop," or a "closed shop" — that is, an understanding by which only members of the union will be employed in that establishment. The employer almost invariably prefers the "open shop," where he is free to hire any one he pleases, and where any worker may work or not in accordance with his own individual wishes. Some very bitter controversies have arisen over this point, for the employer feels keenly that he, rather than



A STRIKERS' MEETING.

This crowd of London dock men assembled every noon while they were out on strike to hear speakers discuss their supposed grievances.

the officer of a union, should have the right to say who shall work in his own establishment.

If peaceful terms cannot be made, the next step of the union officials may be to order a *strike*. When this is declared, all the members of the union are expected to refuse to work for that employer until he grants their demands or until for some other reason their officers tell them to return. Strikes occur, of course, in places where the men are not organized into unions, but they are less frequent and less likely to be successful. Unions which have no grievance of their own sometimes declare a *sympathetic strike* in order to

force their own employer to urge another employer to yield to the wishes of strikers in the latter's factory.

Still another scheme is the *boycott*. This is an organized effort to induce all those who sympathize with the strikers to refuse to use the products of a factory where a strike is going on, to ride on the cars of a railway company, or to do anything else that would help to "break" a strike. In carrying out a policy of this kind, the unions often publish an *unfair list*, as they call it, which contains the names of firms or individuals who have refused to comply with demands made on them by labor unions, the idea being that friends of the unions will not patronize such establishments. Getting at the same end in a less disagreeable way, the union may publish a *white list* of firms with which it is on good terms, and it furnishes a *union label*, which is to be attached to all goods from shops conducted in accordance with the wishes of the union.

Union officials are generally among the first to condemn the destruction of property which sometimes occurs when an extensive strike is under way. No doubt such occasions are abused by the rowdy element which exists in almost every large community and which seizes its opportunity to do violence. At such times it is next to impossible to tell how much, if any, of the disorder is due to the strikers themselves. The practice of *picketing*, or stationing men around a factory to prevent others from going there to work, often leads to personal encounters and sometimes to bloodshed.

Employers, too, have their weapons when disputes arise. They may close their doors and *lock out* their employees until the latter are willing to return to work or make more reasonable demands. They may establish a *blacklist* on which the name of a troublesome workman is placed, and when that workman tries to get a job with another employer he finds he will not be hired. Employers also have learned the lesson of coöperation, and we have now a National Association of Manufacturers and other employers' asso-

ciations, to offset the nation-wide unions of laborers. The heads of the great railways work in harmony, too, in dealing with the national "brotherhoods" which their employees have formed.

Do you or the people of your community look for a union label when you buy goods? Should you?

154. Settling Labor Disputes.—In every strike the strikers lose money which they would have received in wages. The employer loses business which would otherwise have brought him profits. If the strike is prolonged, and sometimes when it is not, bitterness is likely to be engendered which will last indefinitely. Each side hopes it can get the better of the other, and perhaps neither side cares very much about the public at large, who may be depending upon them for supplying the necessities of life.

Everybody suffers from a strike. Both parties to it know there must be a settlement some time. Why can't they make it before the damage is done instead of afterward?

We sometimes hear it said that public opinion will determine which side is to have the victory in labor disputes. But it sometimes takes a long time for public opinion to make itself felt when one or both parties to the strike are stubborn. And suppose the public does not know which side is in the right or feels that both sides are partly to blame; suppose its chief desire is to have the two parties get together and settle their quarrel peacefully. In such a case, is there anything we can do about it?

How would public opinion in a labor dispute make itself known? Is it ever justifiable for either the employer or a union to break an agreement which has been made? Do public officials, such as policemen, firemen, and post office clerks, have as much right to strike as private employees?

To avoid inconvenience and suffering to the public and to force both sides to be reasonable, some countries have laws which require the submission of disputes to investiga-

tion by a board representing the government. In Australia, New Zealand, and Norway strikes and lockouts are forbidden by law. Disputes must be submitted to arbitration and the award of the arbitrators must be accepted.

Canada has a law which forbids strikes and lockouts until a board has investigated the matters in dispute and recommended what it thinks to be right. It is hoped that when this has been done public opinion will be strong enough to force the parties in the dispute to accept the decision. Undoubtedly many serious quarrels have been settled in this way.

In the United States we had nothing like either of these for a long time. But the Esch-Cummins Act of 1920 established the Railroad Labor Board and provided that all disputes affecting railroad workers must be submitted to this board, if they cannot be settled between the employees and the managers directly. The state of Kansas established an Industrial Relations Court and demanded that all labor disputes in important industries should be brought before it. Its authority was weakened somewhat by a Supreme Court decision.

Most states have contented themselves with a Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, which can offer its service in aiding to settle disputes, but which has no power to command the quarreling parties to do anything. That is the case with the Railroad Labor Board. A similar agency is connected with the Department of Labor in the national government, and during the Great War the War Labor Board was of great help in settling such disputes.

Our national government has tried to get representatives of the different industrial classes to come together and talk things over in a friendly way, in the hope that they might come to some understanding. It often happens, however, that when people come together, some as employers and others as laborers, they think they must protect the interests of their particular class in preference to doing anything else.

If the government itself intervenes through a president or a governor or some other official, he may sometimes be forced to take sides, and then the other party accuses him of unfairness. It is very difficult to know just how much the government can do and how much it will have to depend on the good will and good sense of citizens to do for themselves.

What do you consider non-essential industries? Are strikes likely to occur in this kind of industries?

155. Relieving Unemployment. — It is exceedingly undesirable to have men out of work.⁴ Idleness leads to bad habits or even crime. A man loses his ambition and even his ability to work well or to keep at it for a long time. His family may have to suffer from lack of food or clothing and may themselves get into permanent bad habits.

Many causes contribute to such unemployment. A man may be sick or injured, some one else may get his job, and when he gets out again he may find that either he cannot do the work any longer or that he is not wanted. Strikes and other difficulties sometimes cause more loss in days and wages than can be made up in a long time, even if extra pay is secured.

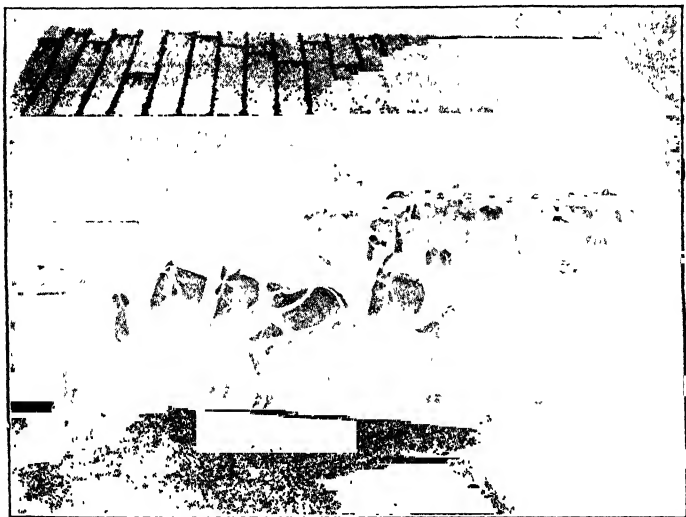
A period of depression in business throws so many out of work that in the big cities bread lines with thousands waiting for a "hand-out" become a regular feature. Besides, some trades do not furnish steady employment the year round. There is a much greater demand for coal at some seasons than others. Lumbering can be most easily carried on at certain times in the year. Cold weather makes some kinds of carpentry and mason work difficult or impossible.

How does the extent of unemployment in your community or in the country now compare with other times? What is the reason?

Whatever the cause, the effect of unemployment is bad. Not only the workman and his family, but society suffers as well. He produces nothing for others to enjoy and has no money to buy what others produce. But how to prevent

this condition is not always clear. The national Department of Labor and many of the states conduct employment bureaus which try to keep all sections of the country or of a state informed of the needs of other sections. It often happens that in one section men may be starving while other sections are clamoring for laborers.

It is not always easy to get men to go where the work is. They want to live in the city rather than on the farm. They



SPECIAL "HELP" IN A BUSY SEASON.

These workers are needed for a brief period in the "grape belt" along Lake Erie.

do not want to leave their families or move to another town. They are not willing to work for less than a certain sum, no matter how much they may be in need. For such people neither society nor government can do very much, and for many of them sympathy is wasted.

Some economists urge that the government should plan its own public works, such as street construction, laying of sewers, and the like, so that it will call for the most helpers

at the time when work is slack in other occupations. Others say that insurance against unemployment, as well as against sickness or accident, should be provided by the state. Anything that conduces to steadiness of work and income on the part of America's millions of workers will help a little toward general happiness and prosperity.

Are there any dangers in unemployment insurance?

156. Promoting Industrial Coöperation. — Employers are not all hard-hearted money-making machines. Many of them



ATTRACTIVE COTTAGES FOR WORKMEN.

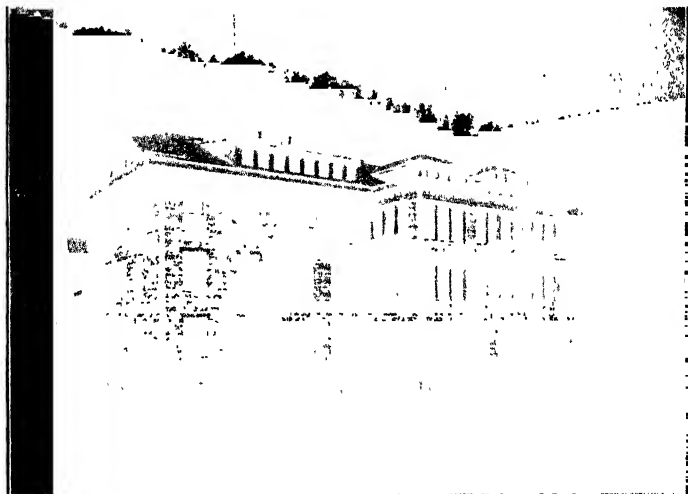
The Lever Brothers of Port Sunlight, England, have tried to provide houses for their workers, which will both be pleasant in appearance and rent at a few dollars a month in our money.

would gladly call their men by their first names if they could, and like to think of them as co-laborers in the conduct of the business. The enlightened employer knows that it is for his interest to have those who work for him healthy and reasonably contented.

Every up-to-date factory of great extent where workers are employed now makes such provisions for their comfort and health as the conditions of the industry permit. A boiler

factory cannot be quiet; a steel mill may always have to be more or less dark and unattractive. But whatever the industry is, it can provide places for rest and for the care of the injured and sick. It can encourage every possibility to promote health rather than to ruin it.

Welfare work is the term that we usually apply to the efforts of the employer to look out for the mental and physical well-being of his employees. To-day many large corporations have extensive lunch rooms, gymnasiums, and



A FACTORY HOSPITAL.

The United States Coal and Coke Company, Lynch, Kentucky.

reading rooms, and employ the services of physicians, nurses, and social workers, who visit the homes of the employees. They establish day or night schools for education along certain lines so as to make the men more efficient workers or better citizens in the community. In many places a corporation constructs houses which it rents or sells very cheaply to its employees, and may operate stores to which they may come and obtain things at a reasonable price.

Sometimes this side of so-called welfare work has been abused by forcing the workers to buy at these stores or to do other things that they do not desire to do. But on the whole welfare work is undertaken in the right spirit and is the best substitute for personal acquaintance that can be offered, for the promotion of friendly relations between employer and employees.

Besides, to encourage men to work for their own good as well as for the employer's, a few firms have established a system of *profit sharing*. A part of the profits over a certain figure is then distributed either in the form of a bonus in addition to the regular wages of the employee or, as is often the case with some European firms, of a payment received after he reaches a certain age. The United States Steel Corporation reserves shares of stock which the employees may buy and so acquire an interest in the firm.

Profit sharing has not taken a strong hold in this country. Labor unions are often opposed to it, for they believe it tends to make the laborer look at the industrial situation too much from the employer's viewpoint. They say that profit sharing and welfare work are simply forms of enlightened selfishness, and that the employer makes use of them because they will make his men more contented, so that he can get more work out of them.

One of the relatively new ideas in industrial relationship has sometimes been called *industrial democracy*. The spirit of it is that the employer and employees all have a direct interest in the business, and that all of them should have a right to express their opinion with reference to matters in which they are concerned. A representative board is often elected by the employees, to be responsible for considering the problems and improvements in which they are interested. Sometimes such a board is called a "house of representatives," representatives of foremen and bosses may be a "senate," with the owner or managers as a sort of "president" or "cabinet." The exact form of such an organiza-

tion is not so important as the spirit. It removes the idea of separation between employer and employees. It gives to the employees a real sense of responsibility, and a feeling that they have a right to offer their opinions on matters of common interest. This system has met with success in the great majority of places in which it has been tried.

New forms and methods in business organization have steadily arisen to satisfy new needs and demands. There is a plain tendency to do everything in a big way, though this sometimes leads to a disregard of the welfare of individuals and of the community in general. Unions have been proved in many industries to protect the rights of their members better than they can be protected by other agencies. We must be very careful that we provide means by which absolute justice can be done to all, as far as that is humanly possible.

QUESTIONS

Show how differently industry is conducted now, as compared with the methods in vogue about 1750.

Show the necessity of organization in business. Explain *single proprietorship*; *partnership*; *corporation*. How is a corporation managed? What advantages does each of these forms of organization have which the others do not? Relate the purpose of the *trust*. Why is it difficult to control it? Are there "good" and "bad" trusts?

When does a *monopoly* exist? Explain five classes of monopolies. What considerations influence a monopolist in deciding the price of his product? Is the principle of monopoly wrong? Do monopolies ever benefit the public?

Point out the differences between to-day and former times in the relations of employer and employee.

Why are labor unions formed? Relate some facts about their growth and present importance. Define *collective bargaining*, *trade agreement*, *closed shop*, *open shop*, *strike*, *sympathetic strike*, *boycott*, *unfair list*, *union label*, *scab*, *picketing*. Relate any instances of their use with which you are familiar. What methods do employers use to combat the activities of the unions?

How have labor conditions improved since labor unions existed? How far do you think this is due to the unions?

Show how the innocent public often has to suffer during a strike. Is this justifiable? How do boards of conciliation and arbitration commonly work in this country? What are the underlying features of the Canadian and New Zealand laws for compulsory investigation and arbitration?

Name the chief reasons why men are out of work. What remedies for unemployment are in operation or proposed? How ought the employer to feel toward those who work for him? What motives lead to the institution of profit-sharing arrangements? Why do labor unions often object to them? Define *welfare work* and give examples of factories where it is undertaken on a large scale. What do you think of it? Explain the idea of *industrial democracy*.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Business Life of John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company.

The United States Steel Corporation.

The Industrial Revolution.

The Work of Employment Agencies.

The American Federation of Labor.

John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers.

Resolved, that labor unions have done more good than harm in this country.

Resolved, that the United States government should institute a system of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.

Henry Ford: His Business and His Workers.

Welfare Work in Great Industrial Institutions.

The Rules of a Labor Union.

Some Examples of Industrial Democracy.

How I Would Pay My Employees.

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Gillette: Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapters 9, 14.

CHAPTER XXIII

SAVING OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

We are prosperous now ; we should not forget that it will be just as important to our descendants to be prosperous in their time.

— Roosevelt.

Americans have too often been accustomed to think of the United States as a land of boundless and endless resources. How soon will they realize that we cannot use all our bounteous natural supplies and have them too? To what extent is our government engaging in the work of conservation? In what different lines or fields is this necessary?

157. The Importance of Natural Resources.—Land, as the economist calls it, is absolutely essential to every industry. Of exceptional importance, then, is the preservation of the gifts of nature from waste and wanton destruction. The *conservation of natural resources* is the term we commonly apply to this problem. Conservation means more than preservation. The latter refers merely to rescuing our resources from destruction, but the former includes the idea of using them wisely while they are being saved. Conservation is not a “dog in the manger” policy.

When our forefathers came to this country they found what was perhaps the most wonderfully endowed land on the face of the earth. Fertile soil, timber, water, metals, and minerals — everything that a great country could require, except brains to use it properly. In our haste to take advantage of these gifts of nature, we seem to have followed the policy of “getting while the getting is good,” with utter forgetfulness of what will happen when we have used up all our good things. The result is that we have ruined much

of our splendid raw material so that neither we nor anybody else can hope to do much with it.

Make a map of the United States that will show its natural resources. What industries in your state or community depend upon natural resources? Have they been properly managed?

A few thoughtful men pondered deeply over the situation long before they could get many people interested or induce



MAKING LAND OVER.

We must have land as a foundation for all our industrial activities, but often it is not in the form in which it will be most useful. Men have learned to overcome many natural disadvantages.

our state and national governments to take action. Too often the selfish interests that wanted to waste and plunder our forests and mines controlled the state legislatures and would consent to no change in our policy. Besides, the mass of the people did not understand the situation.

It takes time to educate a whole people, and meantime the land-robbers were active in making the most of their

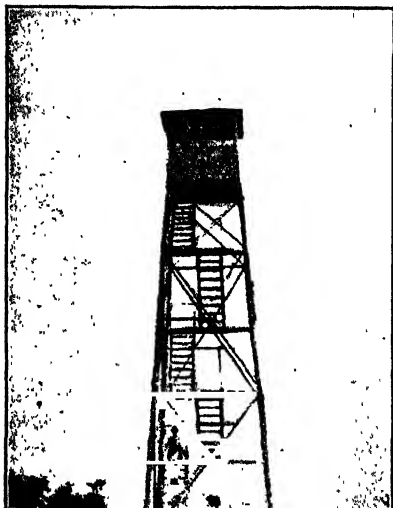
opportunity. Then when the national government undertook to act, these men argued that the land was the property of the states and it was the states' business to deal with the problem. They figured that their desire for plunder could be more easily gratified through the states than through the national government.

But we are reasonably well awake now. Greedy men and corporations still try to obtain selfish control of our wealth of soil, minerals, and water. But every child in school has heard about conservation, and any public man who wantonly allows the wealth of all the people to get into private hands will have a great deal of explaining to do.

158. Forest Conservation. — The destruction of the forests is something that the eye can observe for itself, and needs little explanation to make it understood. Once 45 per cent of the United States was wooded, but one-third of that forest has been wholly cleared away. Recently we have been cutting down every year three times as much as grew up. It does not take much arithmetic to determine where we shall get to if that process continues. But happily steps have been taken to save us from that peril. Chiefly by President Roosevelt over 180,000,000 acres of land, mostly in the western states, have been set apart as forest reserves to be kept under government control. A forest service employing nearly 4000 people takes care of these reserves, protecting the trees from destruction, planting new ones, and watching for forest fires. The number is not at all sufficient to do the work as it should be done, but they have accomplished wonders.

Some of the land set apart as forest reserves is later found to be better suited for other than forest purposes. When this is discovered the land may again be thrown open for occupation. Permits are sometimes granted which allow private cattle raisers and sheep growers to feed their stock on the reserves. Some timber is sold, too, and in several ways the forest lands help to pay the expense of maintaining the forest service.

In the Appalachian Highlands, as far as from New Hampshire to Georgia, a series of eastern national forests is planned. These are meant especially to be located near the headwaters of rivers, for the forests help to regulate the flow of



FOREST FIRE TOWER AT BLACK MOUNT,
NEW YORK.

From this point the country can be viewed
for miles around to detect forest fires.

water into the streams, so that there need not be such a destructive alternation of floods and droughts as always follows the reckless cutting down of the trees.

More than half the states have a state forester or forest commissioner, who endeavors to promote forest conservation and assist the people in the planting and care of trees. Several states, notably New York and Pennsylvania, have extensive forest reserves of their own. Many of them coöperate with private owners in endeavoring to prevent the ravages of forest fires.

159. Water Conservation. — Closely related to the problem of the forests is that of water conserva-

tion, for the effect of forests upon the water flow makes it essential that a policy affecting one shall not conflict with the proper management of the other. The control of the waters so as to prevent floods is of immense importance to many sections of the country.

Years ago the larger streams were very extensively employed for commerce, but after the railroads came, water transportation gradually fell into disuse. But there are many commodities which can be carried much more cheaply by water, and which are not perishable so that there is need of hurry in transporting them.

To revive the use of streams for navigation, there has been much discussion of plans for constructing canals around



AN IDAHO POWER PLANT AND LUMBER MILL.

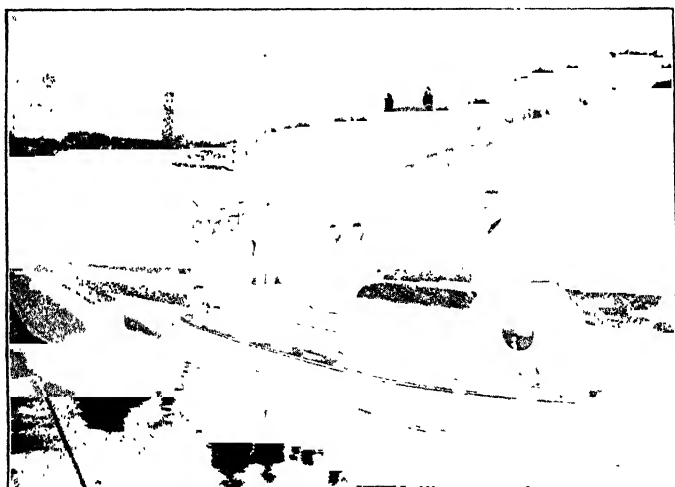
The even flow of this stream depends upon the permanence of forests in the mountains many miles away.

rapids and falls. Notably to make the Ohio River fit for extensive commercial use, numerous locks and dams have been constructed, with the intention of making a continuous waterway from Pittsburgh to the Gulf of Mexico. Another series of canals which has been partly constructed by the states or by the national government is intended to parallel the Atlantic coast, far enough inland to be safe at all times from the ocean storms and other outside dangers.

The Erie canal, stretching across New York State from

the Hudson to Lake Erie, has been of tremendous importance to the cities whose trade has been specially affected by it. A similar waterway from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie would doubtless add marvelously to the already world-famous iron and steel center of Pittsburgh. Such a canal is under serious consideration, and may be started in a few years.

Seaports and lake ports and, to some degree, cities on navigable rivers, have problems that do not bother other



AN ELECTRIC BARGE ON AN ENGLISH CANAL.

In many European countries small canals run almost everywhere.

cities. The federal government spends millions each year dredging important (and sometimes unimportant) rivers and harbors to keep them in shape for navigation, and cities take much from their own treasuries for the same purpose. Many cities, particularly in the West, build and own one or more municipal docks, instead of allowing the entire water front to be occupied by private companies.

The use of the enormous available power that is stored up in the streams is another important problem. To let so much of it go to waste is an economic crime, but it is also

a crime to permit it to be used by private corporations to add riches to their own treasury and to lock up this energy so that the nation cannot profit from the streams which belong to all the people.

It is estimated that 60 per cent of the water power of the country is already in the hands of a small group of investors and speculators. That the nation shall keep for itself the other 40 per cent would seem to be the simplest kind of common sense. One plan is to rent the use of the streams for power purposes, instead of the government's selling



PRIMITIVE IRRIGATION.

Guess why the donkey is blindfolded.

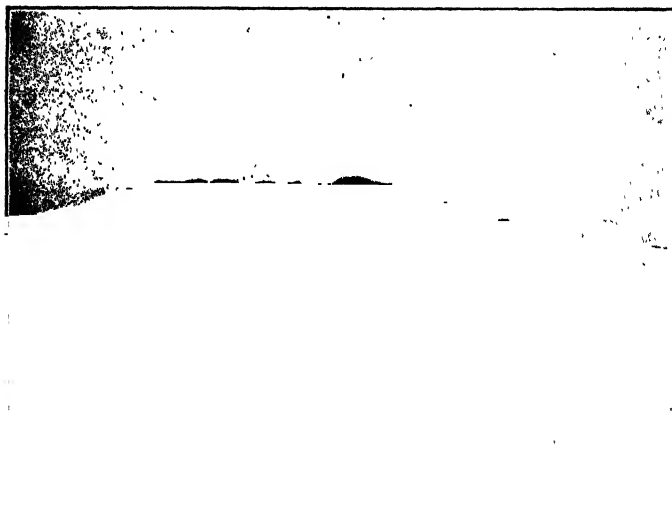
the privilege to the user outright and so losing control of it forever. A Federal Water Power Board composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture has been created, to pass judgment on applications for the use of the water power on government lands.

160. Land Conservation. — Millions of acres of some of the richest land on the continent lie in the western deserts, waiting for the magic touch of the water. The water is waiting, too, but it has to be harnessed and turned into proper channels to carry it where it will do the most good.

Many wonderful irrigation enterprises have been under-

taken by private capital. One of the most notable of these is the system which takes the water of the Colorado River and turns it upon the Imperial Valley of California, once one of the most forbidding deserts on the continent.

The national government has also spent many millions of dollars constructing great dams and canals for irrigation purposes. The Roosevelt Dam in Arizona, the Shoshone



THE CALIFORNIA DESERT.

This looks as if nothing could make it useful, but irrigation often does wonders.

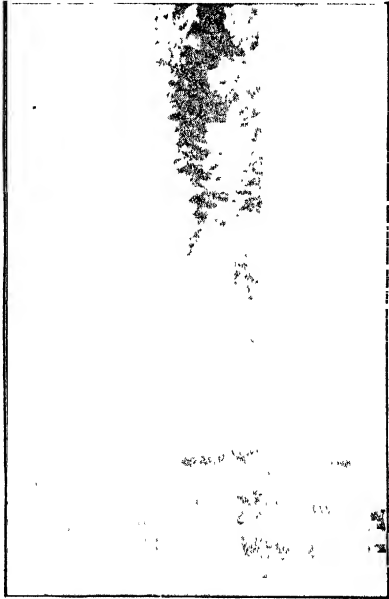
Dam in Wyoming, the Elephant Butte Dam in New Mexico, and several others, store up water which makes it possible to cultivate profitably many thousands of acres for each one. The occupants of land irrigated through these projects pay a sum for their water rights which is applied to the cost of operating the irrigation systems. The Reclamation Service of the national government is a branch of the Department of the Interior. California has more irrigated

farms than any other state, but from the Plains states to the coast every state has many of them.

A different kind of land conservation is that of the swamp lands, such as the Everglades of Florida and the lower Mississippi and the Gulf region. At an expense estimated at from \$5 to \$35 an acre, drainage canals can be constructed which will raise the value of the land drained by them at least tenfold. In the entire country there are about 70,000,000 acres of this swamp land which can be made very profitable for agriculture. Surely it is good business to make use of it.

A phase of conservation which is inspired less by economic motives than by a love of nature and beauty is that which has brought about the setting aside of numerous regions as national parks. Geysers, glaciers, marvelous waterfalls, forest giants, such as are found in Yellowstone Park, Glacier National Park and Yosemite Park, ought never to pass into private hands to be kept

for selfish profit or ruined through commercial greed. These and numerous other places of scenic or historic interest have been kept as playgrounds and wonderlands for the people. They are under the care of the Department of the Interior.



AMONG THE BIG TREES OF CALIFORNIA.

What a shame it would be wantonly to destroy these giants? Some of them were 2000 years old when Christ was born. Yet it has called—and still calls—for constant vigilance to save them from greedy men.

Our government has been extremely generous with its public land, on the theory that it was wise to get it settled as rapidly as possible. A person could get a quarter-section (160 acres) by paying very small fees, if only he occupied it five years and made improvements on it. There are still over 275,000,000 acres of public land open for occupation in



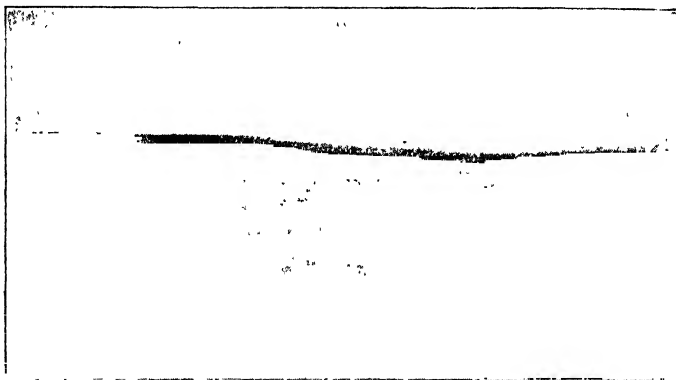
A UNIQUE BIT OF NATURAL SCENERY.

Minnehaha Falls at Minneapolis attracts many visitors.

this way in the United States proper, besides considerably more than that amount in Alaska. Much of this is not suitable for farming and is not attractive for "homesteaders" to occupy.

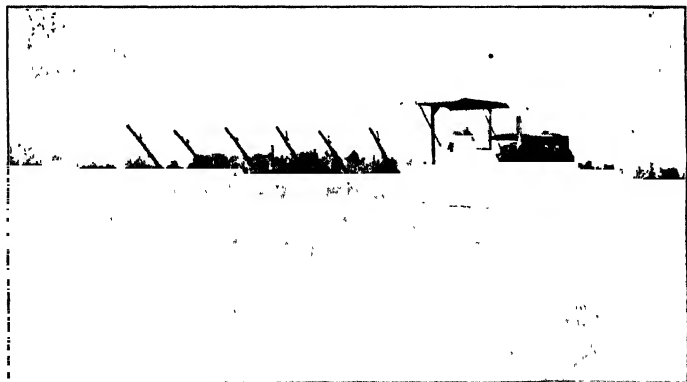
One trouble with our generosity has been the loopholes in the laws which enabled private corporations to get this land which was intended for occupation by actual settlers and then to use it for their own purposes. Great care is now taken to prevent this abuse. The government also

may reserve the right to any coal or other metal or mineral found under the surface if the land has been taken for agricultural purposes.



PLOWING AS THEY USED TO DO IT.

161. Conserving Metals and Minerals. — Many interests along the line of conservation must be handled by the states. The frightful waste in mining coal, lead, zinc, and other metals and minerals must be reached chiefly through state control, except where they are found on federal property,

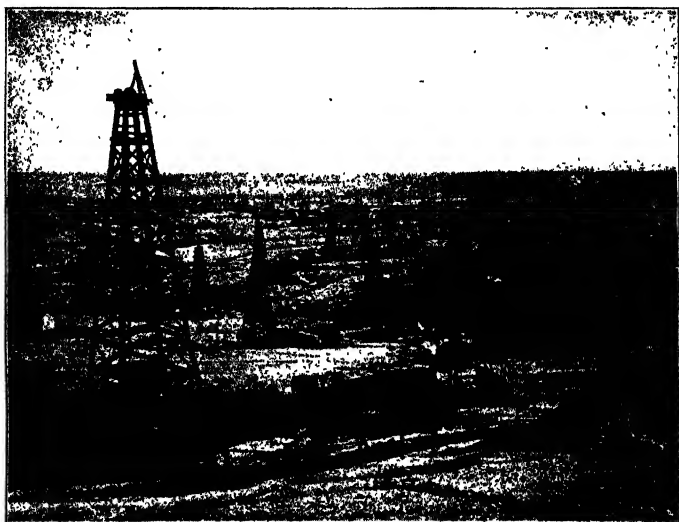


PLOWING AS IT OFTEN IS DONE TO-DAY.

for until these products get into interstate commerce the federal government has little means of reaching them. Enormous amounts of coal, however, exist in Alaska, and extensive supplies of oil and other mineral products in other national lands.

What will this country do when the coal and oil are gone?

Though harsh criticism has been visited upon the government by some people for not throwing these open to private



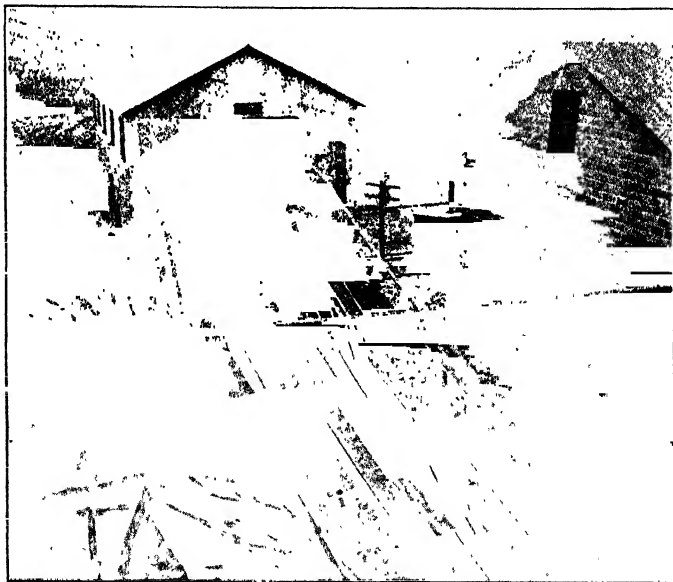
A CALIFORNIA OIL FIELD.

The various oil products have come to be among our greatest needs to-day. Thus far new fields have steadily been opened up to supply the oil, but will they last forever?

operation, it is unquestionably wiser for the error to be made on the side of overcaution. To lease these lands, charging a royalty for each ton of coal or other product obtained from them, and insisting on careful and thorough operation, seems to be the policy best suited to get the most out of our resources to-day and to save them in the best shape for the Americans of to-morrow.

There has been a growing feeling that the coal business is not carried on in the wisest way. As a result of a great coal strike in 1922 a special commission was appointed by the President to investigate the business and find out what was wrong with it.

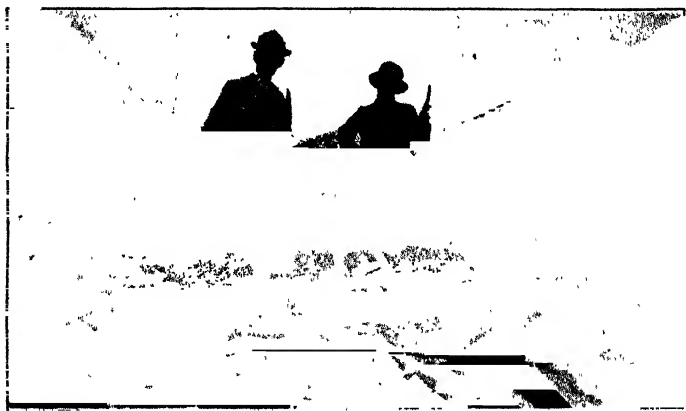
162. Conserving Animal Life. — Conservation applies to animal life, too. Every state has its fish and game laws to prevent the complete destruction of these living things. The



DRAWING COAL OUT OF THE MINE.

federal government has established a few bird reserves in the southern states for the protection of certain feathered folk, and has recently negotiated a treaty with Canada to protect migratory birds. Congress has made it a crime to transport in interstate commerce the plumes of the egret which was being rapidly hunted to death to gratify the ladies' desire for ornament. Special effort is also undertaken to save the buffalo, the fur seal of Bering Sea, and other forms of animal

life, and to encourage the raising of Alaskan reindeer and other animals that are of direct use to man, but have been wantonly slaughtered.



OUR FIRST GAME.

Some people enjoy hunting just for the sake of killing things. When the animal is a pest a State sometimes pays bounties for its destruction.

Find out what such men as Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and Franklin K. Lane have done for the conservation movement. What do you understand by conservation? Do you observe Arbor Day? Why is it observed? Did you have all the coal and gas you wanted last winter? Why? Is allowing a water faucet to run continually when the supply of water is low a form of waste? Why? Is it better for the state or for individuals to attend to the conservation of natural resources? Why? Are there any birds in your neighborhood which need special care? Is the small boy who kills birds really wasting animal life? Why does he do this? What is your part in solving the problem of conservation?

Conservation, although a rather modern interest of our government, is a very vital one. Our country has unsurpassed stores of riches in land, water, forests, and minerals. Our duty becomes one of appreciation and wise use of what we have received.

QUESTIONS

Explain the meaning and importance of *conservation*. Why has it not received proper attention in this country? Name some of the men who have endeavored to arouse popular interest in the

matter. Is it better that the state or the national government should exercise chief control over conservation policies?

What are forest reserves? Why are they needed? How are they managed? Show the connection between forest conservation and water conservation. Discuss the importance of the use of water for transportation and for power. How can this be best controlled?

Show the importance of irrigation to the Far West. Give some examples of public and private irrigation systems. How can drainage be applied to land conservation? What and where are our national parks? Why and how are they cared for?

Explain conservation with reference to our mineral resources. What do you consider the best way to administer these resources? What purpose and method have been followed in our "homestead" laws? Should that policy be permanent? Why is conservation of animal life important? Give examples of it.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Public Services of Gifford Pinchot.
 The National Forest Service.
 The Reclamation Service.
 What is Left of Our Public Land.
 What Our State is Doing for Conservation.
 The Fish and Game Laws of Our State.
 Seals and Reindeer in Alaska.
 The Protection of the Birds.
 Coal Distribution in Peace and War.
 The Investigation into the Coal Industry.
 The History of the Imperial Valley.
 The Natural Resources of Our State.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Burch: American Economic Life, Chapters 9-12, 22-24.
 Lessons in Community and National Life, B-5, C-4, C-5, C-6.
 Haskin: American Government, Chapters 7, 9-11.
 Marshall and Lyon: Our Economic Organization, Chapter 23.
 Carlton: Elementary Economics, Chapter 18.
 Price: The Land We Live In.
 Van Hise: Conservation of Natural Resources.

CHAPTER XXIV

CONSERVING OUR HUMAN RESOURCES

*Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn! — Burns.*

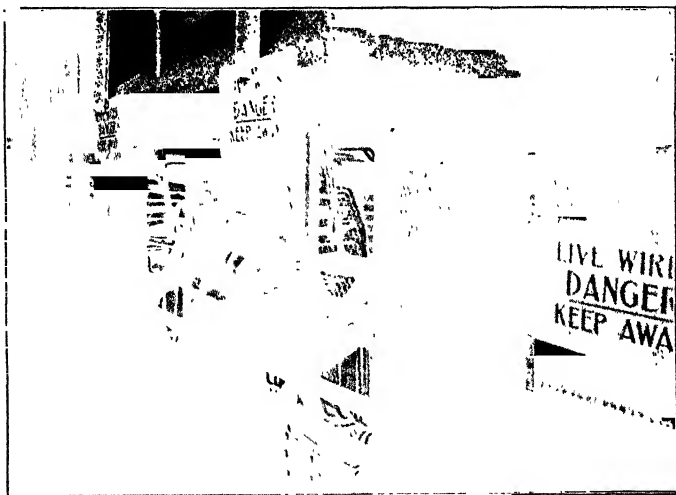
We talk of keeping a watchful eye on our material resources, but do we often enough take counsel for our priceless human resources? Are business profits obtainable only at the cost of happiness? How can we protect our workers — men, women, and children — from unnecessary danger in earning a living?

163. The Human Factor. — It took us a long time to realize that we had to be careful of the use we made of our natural resources — this important thing which the economists call land. It took us almost as long to realize the necessity of saving our human resources — that factor which the economist calls labor. There is a danger that we may look upon labor as an abstract thing, as we look upon land as a material thing. We too often forget that labor is contributed by laborers, and that laborers are human beings. If all that we said about health is true, it will not be a bit less true when a person is working in a factory or on a farm than when he is in his home.

We ridicule a farmer who leaves his farm machinery out of doors all winter, or a carpenter who exposes his fine tools so that they may be stolen or injured. It is equally silly to believe that a business man wishing to succeed can ignore the condition of his workers or treat his men and women any less carefully than if they were mere machines. They are the *human factor* in the success of the business, not simply "labor." As living people, they deserve to be encouraged

for their own sake to maintain good health, and as employees, to be afforded the best possible conditions in which to work.

164. Industrial Accidents. — The old common law of England took the position that accidents were an inevitable feature of industry and that when a person went to work in any industry or in any place he took upon himself all the risks of injury. It made no difference whether the fault was



Courtesy Duquesne Light Co.

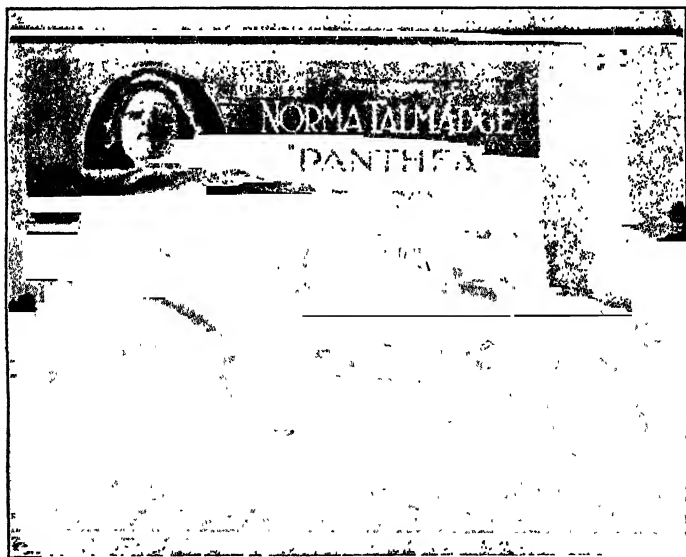
SAFEGUARDING WORKERS AGAINST DANGEROUS MACHINERY.

the employer's, the worker's, or a fellow-workman's, it was a part of the risk of the business and everybody took his own chances.

This idea, coupled with the carelessness that seems natural to Americans, has made our record of accidents extremely bad. Some one has figured that every sixteen seconds somebody is injured in the factories, mines, or railroad business of the United States. In these three kinds of work there are probably more unavoidable accidents than in any others, but there is no need whatever for so many as do occur. Such a condition is intolerable.

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If no one suffered except the person who was hurt, the evil would be bad enough. But suppose an injured man has a family. Then they too may have to suffer from lack of food, clothing, or care. They may have to go out and work when they ought to be at home or in school, and so they may lose the proper training for life. If the injury or illness is prolonged, the city or state or a charitable society may have



ANOTHER CASE OF CARELESSNESS.

to help them and the cost of doing this must come from the whole people. The injury to one is an injury to all.

How frequently do accidents occur in the occupations with which the members of your family are connected? How many of them carry insurance against accident or sickness?

We have awakened to the situation sufficiently to take a real and lively interest in "safety first" campaigns of all kinds, as a means of making people careful and thereby

escaping accidents. We expect the owner of a factory to keep those parts of machines covered which might catch a worker's clothing or some part of his body and inflict injury, and to see that it is properly lighted and ventilated. We ask that mines shall be safely pillared and protected so that cave-ins or falling rock or poisonous gases may not kill or cripple the miner.

Railroads must be run with the idea of getting every passenger to his destination alive and well rather than of madly rushing to break speed records. Losing even an hour's time is far better than not getting there at all. Safety brakes for slowing up or stopping trains, automatic couplers so that men do not have to go between cars, and steel and concrete coaches which cannot be easily smashed, are among the valuable improvements which every good railroad wants.

Not only does public sentiment believe in these things, but laws of Congress and of state legislatures are enforcing them when mill, mine, or railroad managers are obstinate. "Full crew" laws, which require a certain number of trainmen for trains of a certain number of cars, and laws limiting the number of hours when a trainman may be kept at work, so that he may not get completely exhausted and unfit to work, have also been enacted by many states.

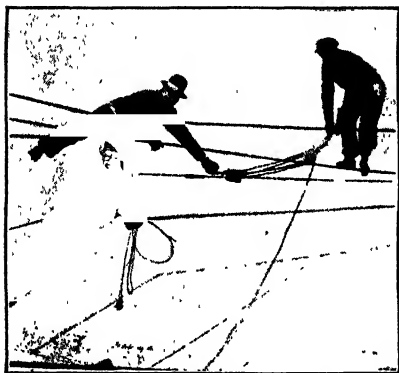
Why are railroad companies generally opposed to "full crew" laws?

165. Workmen's Compensation Acts. — But it does not seem likely that all the laws ever made would prevent all accidents, even if these laws were enforced. To deal with injuries which occur in spite of our efforts to prevent them, most people have come to believe that it is fairer to put at least part of the burden upon the whole community rather than to make the individual worker bear it all. This is the principle which underlies "workmen's compensation" acts and "employers' liability" laws.

When a workman is hurt while at work the employer may be

asked to pay a certain percentage of the worker's wages while he is forced to stay at home, or to give a fixed sum if the injury is a permanent one. Under other systems, the employer pays part of such expenses and the state pays part, or the state may maintain an insurance fund or compel employers to insure their employees in private insurance companies.

All these plans work out in about the same way. If the employer stands the expense, he charges a little more for his



A HAZARDOUS OCCUPATION.

Workers who are employed by telegraph, telephone, and electric railroad companies frequently find themselves in dangerous positions.

product and the public makes it up. If the state pays the cost, taxes will be a little higher. But the worker and his family who have suffered are relieved from serious distress and the burden upon other persons is extremely slight because it is distributed among many.

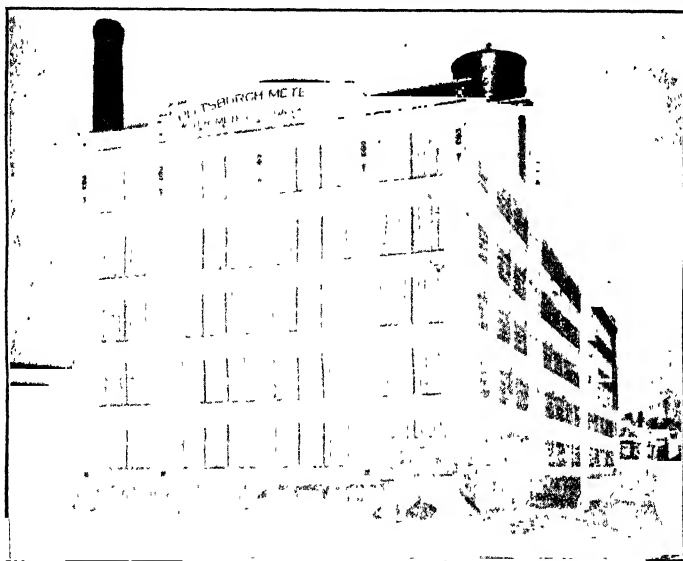
What are the laws of your state with reference to this matter? If a worker is injured, what formalities must he comply with before he can receive compensation?

166. Dangerous Trades. — There are some occupations which seem to have about them conditions which affect unfavorably the health of those who work at them. This may be the result either of the materials they have to use or of surroundings in which the work must be carried on.

Painters and others who work with some form of lead often suffer from a certain kind of poisoning. Workers in industries where arsenic or mercury is used, or where the filing of brass is required, suffer from impaired health that seems to be caused by the fine particles or, poisonous fumes

that are taken into the lungs. Until recently a disease called "phossy jaw" was frequent in match factories which made use of poisonous phosphorus.

Probably we shall learn more from year to year as the study of these diseases continues. The discovery of a different process for making matches made it feasible for Congress to pass an act which has virtually ended the danger from "phossy



THE MODERN TYPE OF FACTORY.

Notice how light the interior of the building must be and observe the provisions for ventilation.

jaw." In other cases the attempt is made to force the workmen to wear safety appliances of some kind while they are at work, in order to prevent inhaling dangerous substances. An extensive force of inspectors is necessary to enforce these and, in fact, all laws regulating labor conditions. Both employers and workmen are often careless and will not obey laws, even for their own good, unless they are compelled to do so.

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Readymade clothing, artificial flowers, cheap cigars and cigarettes are among the commodities frequently made in places known as sweatshops.

Sometimes whole families are engaged in the work that is carried on, from the mother down to the three-year-old child. They are paid ridiculously low wages by a contractor or "sweater," who has assumed a contract with a large manufacturer to get a certain amount of work done. Very often, as in the case of clothing, only a part of the work is done in the sweatshop, such as sewing linings, putting on buttons, and the like. A whole family working twelve or fifteen hours a day may not get more than fifty or sixty cents for their labor.

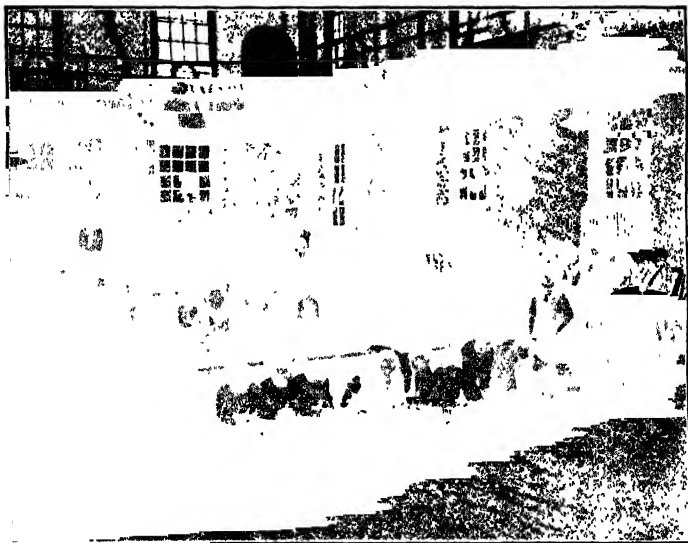
With anywhere from three to fifteen or twenty working in the same room — quite likely the same room where a family eat and sleep — sanitary conditions are anything but attractive. The health and vitality of the workers suffer, disease germs flourish, and all kinds of contagion may be spread among those who work there and among those, perhaps a thousand miles away, who wear the garments sewed in such places.

Sweatshops exist because of some people's greed and other people's ignorance and poverty. Most of this kind of work is done by foreigners. Years ago it was chiefly the Irish, then the Germans, then the Jews of various nationalities, and lately the Italians are getting into it. They live in the crowded districts of large cities and do such work in their own homes, which are already pitifully small.

To remedy this evil, laws have been passed in some states forbidding the performance of certain kinds of labor except in rooms that contain so many cubic feet of air-space and are otherwise half-decent places to work in. Like all laws these must be enforced in order to be of any use, and that does not always occur. The payment of higher wages to the unskilled workers in general would remove some of the excuses for the sweatshop work.

Have you any reason to believe that the garments you are wearing were not made in a sweatshop? Why would anybody engage in sweatshop work? Can you do anything to prevent it?

167. Child Labor. — It is much better for a child to have something to do than to be allowed to “loaf.” The old-fashioned home gave every member some little part in the daily tasks, with opportunity, too, for a reasonable amount



CHRISTMAS DAY IN A SETTLEMENT HOUSE.
These boys had entered an obstacle race.

of play outdoors, when school hours were over. But to-day many homes do not have enough for the children to do, while others because of poverty or other causes work the children far beyond their years.

After great factories appeared, the evil of child labor became common, first in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century and later in the United States. The factory owners were glad to get all the laborers they could, and worked them just as many hours as they could. Work-

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ers under 16 years of age in the United States now number 2,000,000 or more, but owing to an aroused public sentiment on this subject the percentage of such workers to the whole population has begun to decrease. Mills, mines and quarries, canneries, and various forms of agricultural work, are the principal fields where child labor finds a place.

The ruinous effects of child labor are many. It is likely to stunt the child's body and dull his mind and soul so as to prevent his ever becoming as strong, healthy, and bright as a normal person ought to be. His children in turn are almost certain to lack the right kind of physical inheritance and moral guidance. Child labor and education are positively opposed to each other. If a child is in the factory, he cannot be in school.

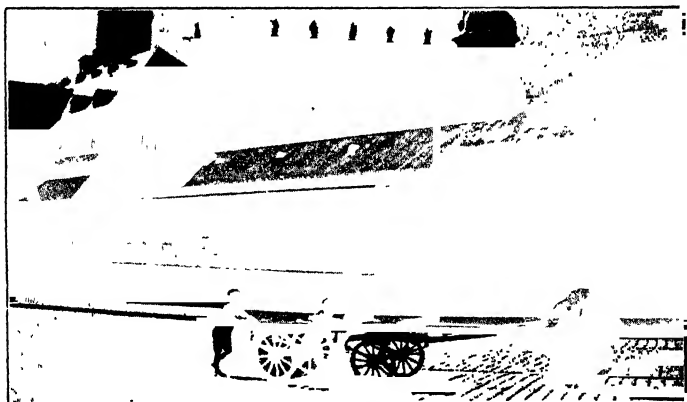
Child labor also affects disastrously the condition of all labor. If a manufacturer can get a child to work for a small wage, he will not want to pay adults much more. In the end this comes back upon the employers themselves, for ignorant, incompetent laborers cannot do the quality of work that can be performed by intelligent workmen.

Poverty in families where there were many children has sometimes seemed to justify the children's going to work as soon as a job of any kind was offered. Sometimes, however, parents have put their children to work in order to be able to take things easy themselves. They lie about their children's ages and report their financial condition to be worse than it is.

Then again, when boys or girls get along toward the age of twelve or thirteen a kind of restlessness sometimes appears. They get tired of school and think they want to do something else. If their parents are too easy-going or lack control, they let the children leave school, to drift into some poorly paid jobs and perhaps lose all chance of ever getting a good position in life either industrially or socially.

Read some account of child labor as it has been common even in recent years in canning factories or cotton mills.

All of the states now have some laws concerning the employment of children, but not more than ten or a dozen have really effective ones. No child under 16 should be allowed to be regularly employed more than 8 hours a day or to be employed at night at all. Along with every child labor law should go a law for compulsory attendance at school, for to forbid employment without giving a child anything to do would be folly of the worst kind. There are some industries in which children ought never to be employed.



GERMAN WOMEN AT WORK.

On the continent of Europe one sees scenes like this one from Dresden far more often than in our own country. They usually seem to take it as a matter of course.

To set an example to the states, Congress first passed a law denying the right of transportation in interstate commerce to goods produced by child labor. It later undertook to reach the same end by putting a high tax on the products of child labor. The Supreme Court ruled by a 5 to 4 vote that these measures were unconstitutional, on the ground that they interfere with a state's domestic affairs. Many people urge that the Constitution be amended to give Congress the power which the Court says it does not now have.

Should a child be required to do any regular work outside school?

168. Women Workers. — The employment of women in the business world raises problems which in some respects are like those of child labor. Certain kinds of work and unduly long hours are harder on them than on men, and to a still greater degree may affect the health and prosperity of future generations.

The employment of women outside the home is also due chiefly to the development of the factory system. The states with many cotton and woolen mills, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Mississippi, are the ones where the largest proportion of women are employed. A few over one-fifth of all wage earners are women, and a slightly larger proportion of women over ten years of age are employed. The total number of employed women to-day approaches 10,000,000. This number does not, of course, include those who are engaged in purely home duties.

But many women who take business positions expect to get married sooner or later, or for some other reason do not plan to continue the work during their whole lifetime. Besides, there are some occupations which they cannot easily fill, and for this and other reasons their movement from one position to a better one is not so easy as for men. The number of women who would take moderately good positions has been greater than the number of positions open to them, and those already at work have not been organized effectively if at all. The result of all this is that the pay of women, even for equal work, has usually been considerably less than that of men. The average wage of men also has naturally been reduced, at least in the occupations where women are employed.

Should men and women get the same pay for the same work?

To protect women themselves and to reduce their unfair competition with men through the acceptance of excessively low wages, a number of states have passed minimum wage laws for women. Under such laws a commission may be ap-

pointed to fix the lowest wage which may be paid to women in any industry, or the law itself may mention the minimum amount. The Supreme Court declared such a law unconstitutional which Congress passed for the District of Columbia, but it has not yet expressed its opinion concerning such laws in the states. The Court said that a person's freedom of contract was interfered with by a minimum wage law, and that women do not need this kind of special protection.

The length of hours for employed women is also the subject of law-making in many states. Employers are forbidden to keep them at work more than 54 hours a week, for example, or even 48, and girls under 18 may not be employed after a fixed hour in the evening or engage in certain occupations at all. The Women's Bureau in the national Department of Labor investigates the problems of women's work.

MAKING PIMENTO CHEESE.

This is one form of manufacturing in which women workers are sometimes preferred.

It seems certain that women will not retire from the business world into which they have entered. They are now found in nine-tenths of the occupations recorded in the census. Many of them are not willing and probably it is not desirable that they should keep their activities within the walls of their homes as they were once accustomed to do. The desire of many women to feel that they do not live on men's charity, the realization by others that they can do at

350 Conserving Our Human Resources

least some things as well as men, and the plain fact with some that they must work, starve, or go to the poorhouse, all combine to take them into the business world to stay.

After all, our extensive natural resources are valueless if human power is not available to develop them. We have been too careless, but are trying now to make safer the condition of the toiler. We have child labor laws and various other measures to prevent unpardonable misfortune to workers, but to enforce these continued vigilance is necessary.

QUESTIONS

Show why the workers in industry need particular care.

What was the "fellow servant" doctrine of old English common law? Why do we not adhere to that principle any longer? What is the record of the United States in the matter of industrial accidents? Illustrate what is meant by the "safety first" movement. Have you any personal responsibility along that line? Why do we have "workmen's compensation" acts? What is their nature?

Give examples of dangerous trades. What can be done to improve conditions in them?

What is a sweatshop? Who engage in this kind of work? Why do they go into it? Can its evils be eradicated?

Should children have some definite, regular work to do? Can you fix the point at which work becomes a harm to a child? When and where did the evils of child labor become serious? How far-reaching is it to-day in this country? Why has it existed? Summarize its disastrous effects. What has been done to make conditions better? Can you suggest any further improvements?

In what occupations outside the home does there seem to be the most room for women? What problems arise in connection with such employment of women? What is its effect upon the standard of wages? What are "minimum wage" laws? Why are they urged? What are the usual terms of women's labor laws? Are we likely to have more or less of women's labor in the future outside the home?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Accidents in Mines and on Railroads.

The Safety First Movement.

Child Labor in the South.

Child Labor and Women's Labor Laws of Our State.

Proper Employment for Women.

Proper Employment for Children.

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B-28, C-29, C-30.

CHAPTER XXV

MONEY AND CREDIT

Money is a good servant, but a bad master. — French Proverb.

The Great War almost ruined the financial systems of many nations, whether participants in the struggle or not. Why? What is money and what does it do for us? How do we do business without the use of money? At the present day could we get along without money and credit systems established under the authority or protection of trustworthy, responsible governments?

169. Money and Its Uses. — If every person who had a sheep to dispose of and wanted to buy a chair had to hunt around till he found some one who had a chair to get rid of and wished to get a sheep, we should say that it was a nuisance of the worst kind. Yet once that was the only way to trade. We call it *barter* — exchanging one thing directly for another. It is easy to see that under such circumstances little trading would take place.

As soon as a community makes much progress toward civilization — and trade has very much to do with producing civilization — it must have some commodity which every one is willing to take in exchange for the things which he is willing to dispose of, knowing that with it he can get the things which he himself desires. A commodity which serves this need and acts as a medium of exchange is known as *money*.

Money helps also in other ways. We can compare the value of other things with the value of a certain piece of money, and so have a way of expressing or measuring the

value of any article of trade. If we make a trade to-day but do not receive or give pay for it until a later time, we can express the value of what is to be paid at a later time in terms of money. Money has, therefore, three important uses — as a medium of exchange, as a measure of value, and as a standard for deferred payments. Without it modern business would be utterly impossible.

A commodity to be generally acceptable as money must have some value in itself. It must be easy to carry around. It must not wear out quickly. It must be readily distinguished from other commodities, so that it cannot be easily counterfeited. And it ought to be capable of division, so that various amounts can be represented by pieces of money. To put the thought in a few words, money should have value in itself, and should be portable, durable, recognizable, and divisible.

To find a commodity that will answer all these requirements is not easy. Long experience has shown that of all the commodities that have been tried gold and silver meet most nearly all the requirements.

Mention five commonly known commodities which would be suitable for use as money, and five which would not be, giving reasons.

In order to identify different amounts of it, governments stamp pieces of it with distinctive marks. Such pieces we call *coins*. Copper and nickel are used to help out for certain small amounts. Paper is also extensively used. This fact may seem to conflict with our statement that money must have value in itself. But if the paper can itself be exchanged for gold or silver, or has gold or silver held in reserve to make it good, it is as acceptable as the metal it represents. The great convenience of paper money makes its use very desirable if it is suitably protected.

170. Our Currency System. — Our decimal system of coinage was adopted in 1784 at the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson, and is the most convenient system for reckoning in

existence. The gold dollar is now the standard for our currency. It contains 23.22 grains of gold. To this is added other metal as alloy, enough to equal one-tenth of the whole weight of the coin.

By a queer paradox the standard coin of our system is not coined at all. The gold dollar is a little too small for convenience. We have gold pieces in values of \$2.50, \$5, \$10, and \$20 — quarter-eagle, half-eagle, eagle, and double eagle. Silver dollars were for several years not coined, either, because so many had been coined that no more were needed.



WORTHLESS PAPER.

How much do you think any one would give for the original of this picture? It is a positive promise to pay. Why is it neither money nor credit?

Besides, they are awkward things to carry around. We have silver pieces reckoned at 50, 25, and 10 cents. The nickels, which are four-fifths copper, and the cents, which are mostly of bronze, complete our list of coins.

There are four mints at which coins are now made. The oldest is that at Philadelphia, and the others are at New Orleans, Denver, and San Francisco. Coins made at mints other than Philadelphia are marked with a little letter to distinguish the place.

Some people have a notion that the more money there is in circulation, the richer the people are. That is a big mistake. Instead, economists tell us that the greater the amount of money in circulation, the higher are prices of goods likely to

be. If we have enough for convenience in actual purchases of goods and payment of wages, much more would be detrimental rather than helpful.

The paper money now in use is of five kinds. *Gold certificates* represent actual gold coin or bullion kept in the United States Treasury. *Silver certificates* represent silver coin in the Treasury.

The *United States notes* were once commonly called greenbacks. They were first issued during the Civil War. They were made *legal tender*, that is, any one must take them when they are offered in payment of a debt. They are nothing more than a promise on the part of the United States government to pay the sum mentioned on the face of the note. If people have confidence in the United States government, they are as willing to take them as any other kind of money. To-day any one can exchange them for any other kind of money, and so we would just as soon have them as anything else. But that was not true during the Civil War, and they depreciated greatly in comparison with gold.¹

National bank notes are a form of paper money issued by the national banks. *Federal Reserve notes* and *Federal Reserve bank notes* are issued through the banks belonging to the Federal Reserve system (§ 174). They are backed up by bonds, notes, or other securities held by the banks.

Compare the different kinds of paper money, and notice the wording on them.

171. Credit and Its Importance. — With all the convenience which money affords, it would be embarrassing for any business man to be obliged to carry with him everywhere he went the money which he might need to transact his business. Large business exchanges between one city and another would be almost impossible, if actual money

¹ A certain amount of "gold reserve" is kept in the Treasury to use in redeeming these notes. This amount is much less than the amount of notes in circulation, but far more than is likely to be called for at any one time.

had to change hands with every trade. Happily, credit takes the place of money in ninety-five per cent of the large business transactions of to-day. *Credit* is simply the giving or receiving of a promise to pay in place of actual money payment.

By the use of credit a merchant in San Francisco can trade freely with a merchant in New York or Yokohama. Much less money is needed than would otherwise be the case, and our stock of the precious metals can be used for many other purposes. Because credit exists, great business enterprises can be undertaken which could otherwise never be risked. Even governments themselves depend upon credit for the most of the financial operations which they themselves carry on. Every private enterprise, too, employs it. True, it is based on the existence of money, but money without credit might be even less useful than credit without money.

To what extent is credit used in the business with which your family is connected?

The forms of legal papers which we use in giving or accepting credit we call credit instruments. Of these there are at least five kinds.

The simplest form of credit is *book credit*. When a person gets goods at a store and says, "Charge it," he is making use of this form of credit.

But often we want something more than a person's word. In that case we may ask for a *promissory note*. This is a definite written promise to pay at a specified time. Sometimes the place of payment is also mentioned.

Another means of paying a debt without the use of money is by *check*. This is a written order directed to a bank where a person has money deposited, instructing it to pay a stated amount to a particular person or to his order.

A *draft* differs somewhat from a check in form, and may mention a specific time in the future when payment is to be made. Drafts are often made "on sight," also. The person

who wishes to pay the money is understood to have a regular business account with the firm to whom the draft is directed.

A *bill of exchange* is on the same principle as a draft. It is used particularly in trade with foreign countries, and is frequently made out in terms of foreign money. A person, for instance, wishing to make a payment to some one in London might buy a bill of exchange for the amount he wished to pay from a New York banking firm which has some London firm as its regular financial correspondent. The buyer can then send the bill to his creditor in London, who will present it to the London firm and get his money.

Find the meaning of "two-name paper," "call notes," "short-term" and "long-term" paper. What is a *trade acceptance*? From a bank or from some business man, secure blank forms of these various credit instruments. Find out how they can be transferred from one person to another. What is meant by *discounting a note*?

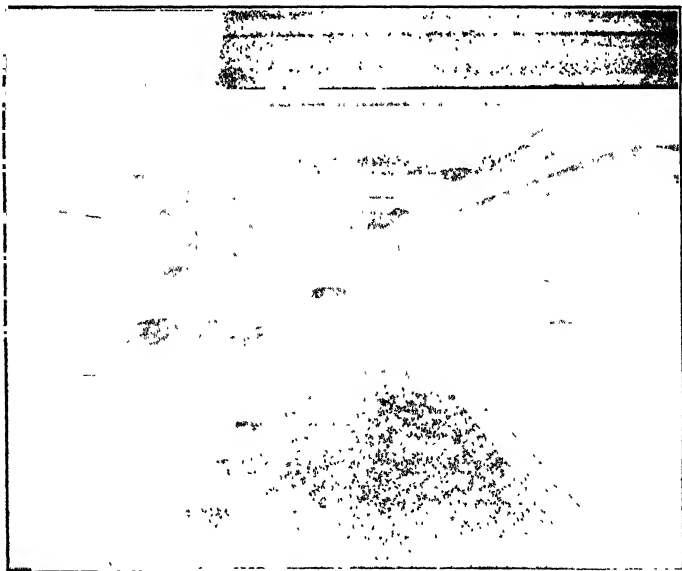
172. Banks and Their Services. — In speaking of credit instruments we have mentioned banks. They have acquired a position in the financial world of to-day so important that upon the soundness of a country's banking system depends in great measure its business prosperity. A *bank* is usually formed by a group of people who organize as an association to receive and lend money and to facilitate the use of the credit instruments which we have described.

Banks which have been formed under the supervision of the national government, which own some of its bonds, and are inspected at irregular intervals by its agents, are called *national banks*. They have had the privilege also of issuing bank notes, based on the value of the national government bonds that they own, which have formed one of our common kinds of paper money.

Many private companies, commonly called *trust companies*, do a similar kind of business, and in addition make a special point of investing money or caring for the property of other persons. Congress has put such a high tax on bank notes issued by any other than national banks that all the profit

which might come from the use of such notes is removed and these banks do not issue them.

In addition to receiving and lending money, banks may lend their credit. If a person borrows \$2000 from a bank, it may simply credit him on its books with that sum and let him draw checks against it. Meanwhile it charges him inter-



A MODERN BANK.

est on the \$2000 which he has borrowed, though it may not have actually handed him a cent in real money.

In receiving deposits from individuals, banks render a distinct service, for in this way funds are brought together which might separately be too small to be of much use in the industrial world, but after being collected can be invested by the bank profitably.

Many banks maintain a savings department apart from the accounts against which checks can be drawn. They pay a larger interest to the depositor on savings accounts than on

checking accounts, for the latter are chiefly conducted as a convenience in business and perhaps no interest at all is paid except on large sums. Banks render a service, too, in discounting notes and drafts when some one wants cash for them before they are due.

To require every bank to maintain separate accounts with every other bank would mean endless confusion and trouble. To let accounts run for a long period without settlement would be dangerous, and to settle with each bank directly every day would be physically impossible. A bank in one community therefore usually arranges with a particular bank in another community to act as its agent there, and carries on its financial business with that section through that bank.

In every large city there is also an organization called the *clearing house*. Here are gathered each business day the returns from each banking institution in the city. Checks and drafts received by one bank upon another are turned over to the proper institution and everything is straightened out very simply and easily.

The clearing house also helps each banking institution to keep in touch with the general course of financial matters in the community. Sometimes the clearing house, as representing the banking interests of the whole city, will give help at a time of special stress to a bank which is really sound and honest but which has by some misfortune fallen into a little difficulty. By saving such a bank from closing its doors it may have served notably the financial welfare of the entire community as well as one particular institution.

173. Dangers in the Use of Credit. — The use of credit brings some dangers against which we must guard. The ease with which credit can be employed to draw interest without risking actual cash, and the profit derived in that way, may lead to carrying it too far. No bank attempts to keep on hand more than fifteen per cent to twenty-five per cent of the amount of money which has been deposited with it, for it is

seldom that any large part of those deposits would be called for at any one time.

But if too many credit loans have been made and the amount cannot be collected on short notice, a bank may have to close its doors until its affairs can be straightened out. Such an occurrence is always embarrassing even if the bank is really solvent. Extravagance, speculation in the rise and fall of stocks, stock watering, and other features of what is sometimes called "high finance" are the outcome of a wrong use of a most valuable feature of modern finance.

To the ordinary person the greatest danger connected with the use of credit is the temptation to put hard-earned money into risky investments or enterprises that are actually fraudulent. School-teachers, ministers, widows, and other well-meaning people are often victimized by conscienceless swindlers. They save up a little money and wish they might get big returns on it. Most of them know that a Rocky Mountain gold mine or a Texas oil well has made a few people rich, and they hope that their dollars will be magically transformed into thousands the same way. Then, if they are "stung," they hate to let anybody know it—and that is one of the reasons why the swindlers pick them as easy marks.

It is always safest to buy stocks and bonds issued by corporations that are near enough home so that investors can watch their money at work. If big interest is offered, you can be sure there is also big risk even when a business is honestly conducted. Far better for most people is four per cent interest with sure returns than a promise of ten or twelve with at least two chances of failure in every three. "A fool and his money are soon parted."

174. The Federal Banking System. — The national banking system which is in operation to-day was founded during the Civil War in order to create an additional market for the bonds issued by the government and to add a new, acceptable

kind of paper currency. For, as we have explained, each national bank was required to own government bonds and could issue bank notes with the bonds to back them.

For many years after 1863 there was little system about our national banks. Several financial panics showed that something was out of joint. After years of study of our banking system, the measure now in force, known as the Glass-Owen act, was passed by Congress in 1913.

Every national bank in the country is *required* to join the Federal Reserve system established by the law, and banks chartered under state laws are *permitted* to join. The country is divided into twelve Reserve districts, and in an important city of each district a Federal Reserve bank is established.

In which district are you? Where is your Reserve bank located? If you can get the information, make a map showing the division of the country into Reserve districts.

A Reserve bank does not deal with individual depositors, but with the banks that belong to that district. It discounts notes and the like for them, and on the basis of the notes which they deposit with it the Reserve bank provides them with Federal Reserve notes to use as currency. These are expected gradually to take the place of the national bank notes issued by the separate banks.

The Federal Reserve Board supervises the whole system. It has eight members, including the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and six other persons appointed by the President. The Reserve bank in each district is managed by a board of nine directors, three of whom are chosen by the Federal Reserve Board and six by the banks in the district.

The system has worked well during the trying period since it was established. Its friends say it will prevent any more financial panics. The Reserve Board in each district can so adjust matters as to relieve its own banks when any one of them needs help of any kind, and the Federal Reserve Board

can make any adjustments that are called for between one district and another. The centralized control which was sadly needed is now supplied, and as far as can be seen every conceivable emergency has been provided for.

Farmers have often found difficulty in getting money at reasonable rates of interest when they wished to borrow it to make improvements on their farms or for other desirable purposes. To help them out of this difficulty and to make it possible for the farming resources of the nation to be used as the basis of credits in the business world as well as other forms of wealth, a Federal Farm Loan system was established by a law of Congress in the summer of 1916.

As in the Federal Reserve Banking system, the country is divided into twelve districts, with a federal land bank in each district. The two systems are, however, entirely distinct, and with one exception the banks are in different cities from those which possess the Federal Reserve banks. In any neighborhood ten or more farmers may combine to form a national farm loan association, and these associations may apply to the Federal Land bank in their district for loans.

The whole system is under the general direction of a Federal Farm Loan Board of five persons. The Secretary of the Treasury is chairman of the board, with a Farm Loan Commissioner and three other members appointed by the President.

In which district are you? Where is your farm loan bank?

Are many of the farms in your section mortgaged? Do many of the farmers make money?

To obtain money is possibly the one common aim of all classes of people, for without it we cannot live. Money and credit are the practical means by which we change our energy through labor into the necessities and pleasures of life. In United States the Federal Government is the only authority that has power to establish a currency system, and it has undertaken a far-reaching supervision of all the agencies related to this system.

QUESTIONS

Explain *barter*. What are its disadvantages? What is *money*? For what is it used? What characteristics should a commodity have in order to make it useful as money? What coins do we now have in circulation? What other United States coins did you ever see? Where are our coins made?

What forms of money does our government now issue? How do they compare with each other in amount? Explain the kinds of paper money. What makes people willing to accept them?

When is money a hindrance to business? Describe the substitute which is commonly used, explaining its advantages. Write four forms of credit instruments. Explain the difference between them.

Why is a bank organized and what services does it render? Explain the lending of credit. How differently is a savings account handled by a bank from its checking accounts? Where do the profits of a bank come from? What is the value of the clearing house? Mention some of the dangers of operation against which a bank must guard. Could a bank do business without the extensive use of credit?

How did our present national banking system come into existence? Describe the important changes in the system introduced. Outline the organization of the Federal Reserve system; the Federal Farm Loan system.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Our Mints and Their Operation.

The Organization and Officers of a Bank.

The Banks of Our Community.

The Clearing House.

Insurance as an Investment.

The Federal Reserve Board: Its Members and Their Work.

Why We Can Trust a Bank.

The Work of the Farm Loan Board.

Joint-stock Land Banks.

The History of Coins.

United States Coins Past and Present.

Money Systems of Other Countries.

How Stores Handle Charge Accounts.

The Use of Trade Acceptances.

Foolish Investments.

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CHAPTER XXVI

TRADE, TRAVEL, AND NEWS

*And a new word runs between, whispering, Let us be one. — Kipling.
He rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the wings
of the wind. — Psalms 18 : 10.*

How much would it mean to our nation if all communication were cut off for one hour? Why is it necessary for every citizen of our country to know how the world lives? What effective methods of communication do we now enjoy? How shall we regulate these so as to keep them of the greatest use to all of us?

175. "In Days of Old." — The story of the steps by which men have learned to take themselves, to carry goods, and to send messages, over land, on the sea, and through the air, is infinitely fascinating. It is almost the history of civilization itself. But we must limit our discussion of it to our own land.

When our Constitution was adopted, we cultivated our fields, transported our products, and communicated with our friends, less efficiently and easily, in most respects, than the Romans did when their great Empire was at the height of its glory. Except between the largest towns, travel on land was almost entirely by pack horse. Stagecoaches took two days to go from Philadelphia to New York. Sailing vessels carried almost all the freight that was shipped, for people could not afford the expense of any other method. To carry a ton of goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh cost \$100 or more. Thomas Jefferson complained that it took four weeks for a letter from Charleston to reach him in Virginia, when two weeks, in his opinion, was plenty long enough.

A few turnpikes were already started, the first in the country, which ran from Philadelphia to Lancaster, being opened in 1792. A little later canals aroused a great deal of interest, and for a few years a veritable craze for constructing them swept the country. They reduced the cost of trans-



ONE FORM OF RURAL TRANSPORTATION.

It takes time for this man to arrive but he usually does. He has a fine pair of animals and is proud of them.

portation wonderfully, and made a considerable saving in the matter of time.

176. The Steamboat. — Oliver Evans and John Fitch experimented with steam as a motive power for boats in the 1780's, and Fitch actually ran a boat from Philadelphia to Trenton. But when Robert Fulton took the *Clermont* from New York to Albany in 1807 the history of successful steam navigation really begins. Four years later a boat was running on the Ohio. The steamboat was early put in operation on the Great Lakes and thus the westward movement encouraged by the opening of the Erie Canal was made many times more effective.

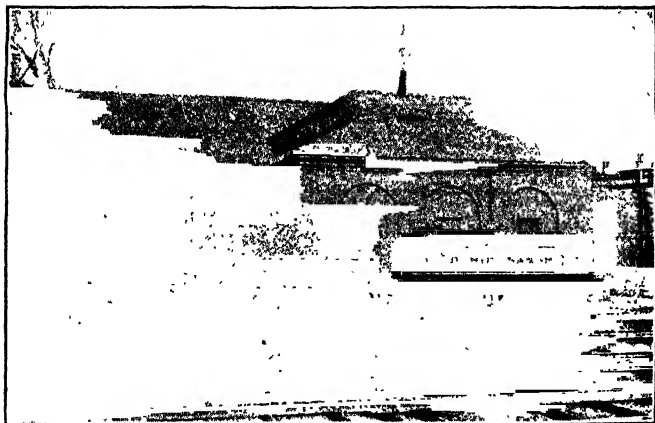
In 1838 the *Sirius* and the *Great Western* made their way across the Atlantic in fifteen days, using steam power alone.



Courtesy Cunard Steamship Co.

TRAVEL IN COMFORT.

In the dining room of the *Aquitania*, one has all the comforts of home and some besides, except when the sea is rough.



AN OLD-TIMER.

Once it was the fashion to name every engine. Engineers became very much attached to their "iron horses."

The next step was the use of iron vessels. And so the development of the steamboat has progressed until we have our ocean liners, more palatial than most dwellings, traversing regular routes between the great cities of the globe.

177. The Railroad. — Not many years after the steamboat first was successfully operated and while people were planning to spend millions of dollars on the building of canals,



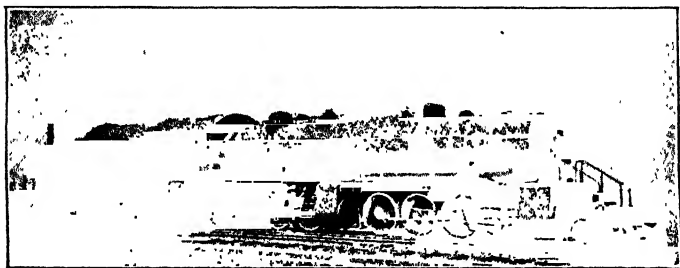
SHE HAS SEEN HER BEST DAYS.

Engines just like this are not made now. This one was being given a farewell run before giving up the job.

a new competitor entered the field of transportation. This was the railroad. The Englishman George Stephenson was the first to construct a locomotive for traveling on rails. The first real railroad in America, the Baltimore and Ohio, began its construction work in 1828. By 1840 we had nearly 3000 miles of railroad in this country; in 1860 we had 30,000; and now we have over 250,000.

And how these railroads have grown ! At first they were short affairs, running only from one city to the next large place. But as time went on, the short lines combined into great systems. Later, roads were completed clear across the continent.

One form of consolidation was not always helpful to the public. That was the acquisition of a group of roads by one powerful financier or banking company. It was "Commodore" Vanderbilt whose wealth and genius made the New York Central system possible. E. H. Harriman and James J. Hill were later "railroad kings" whose marvelous organizing powers made great things possible in the



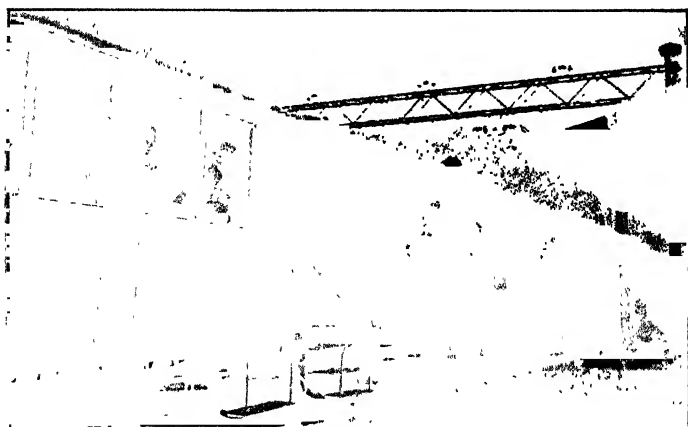
ONE OF THE LARGEST LOCOMOTIVES IN THE WORLD.

development of the West. These two men were sincerely interested in the people and country that they served, but too often the railroad was a means of making money — nothing more. Some of the financiers have cared too little for the welfare of the people whose business made the road possible.

Make a map of the United States, showing the location of the great railroad systems, and your own railroad connection with the rest of the country.

All kinds of improvements have been made in the operation and equipment of railroads. Roadbeds have been smoothed ; sleeping cars and dining cars have added to the comfort and convenience of travelers. Air-brakes and steel and concrete cars have afforded greater safety to passengers.

Railroads constitute the greatest business in the United States to-day except agriculture. Let us enumerate some of the services which they render: (1) they have tied the land together as if by bands of steel; (2) they have aided greatly in the expanding of the nation westward; (3) they have built up big cities; (4) they have enabled the producers of goods in one part of the country to sell goods to producers hundreds of miles away; (5) they have broadened the knowledge of the world by encouraging the spread of



SWISS PASSENGER CARS.

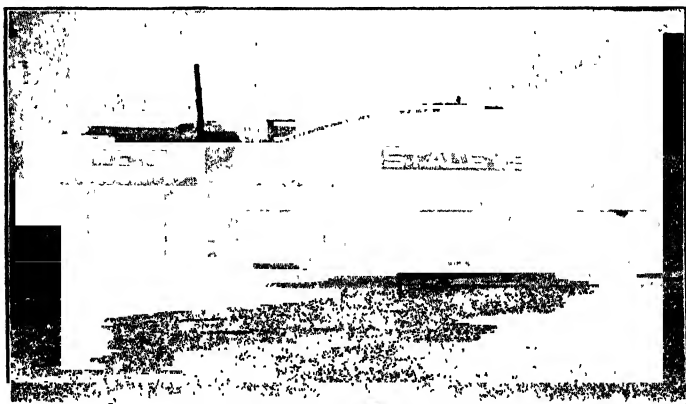
In most European countries passenger cars are of the first, second, or third class. Can you tell which these are? Notice the bumpers between the cars. Our cars do not have that particular kind of equipment.

education and information; (6) they have made all sections of the country dependent on each other and all dependent upon the railroads.

178. The Automobile and the Highway. — The highway is coming back, so to speak, as an improved means of communication. Almost every state has spent large sums of money on great trunk highways that connect its large cities, and on various other important lines of communication between different parts of the state. Over these high-

ways as well as over the branch roads that feed into them, are carried enormous amounts of traffic, increasing year by year.

The explanation of this big new interest in highways is the automobile. On the average there is one automobile now in use for every seven people in the country, although actual distribution is not quite so broad as this. These cars range from the little two-seated runabout to the trucks which may carry tons of goods. Many of the streets of our



A COMMON SCENE THESE DAYS.

Garages, large and small, can be found almost everywhere. This one provided a comfortable rest room where tourists might stop.

large cities and the roads leading into them are traveled by a continuous line of cars. Where to put them in the business sections of the city has already become a serious problem.

What to do with heavy trucks is another question. Out in the country districts they tear up the roads, especially if they travel over soft roads in wet weather, and it takes a most substantial sort of pavement to hold out under their pounding. Yet goods can be carried in many cases by this means more quickly and cheaply than by freight on the railroads. The motor bus has put numerous electric rail-

ways out of business. The automobile has many possibilities of service, but we need to study how to employ them most intelligently.

179. Arguments about Constitutional Authority. — The great importance of highways and canals appealed to everybody. Naturally the



ANOTHER USE FOR THE AUTOMOBILE.

With this specially constructed truck the Light Company can do many kinds of work that would otherwise be inconvenient.

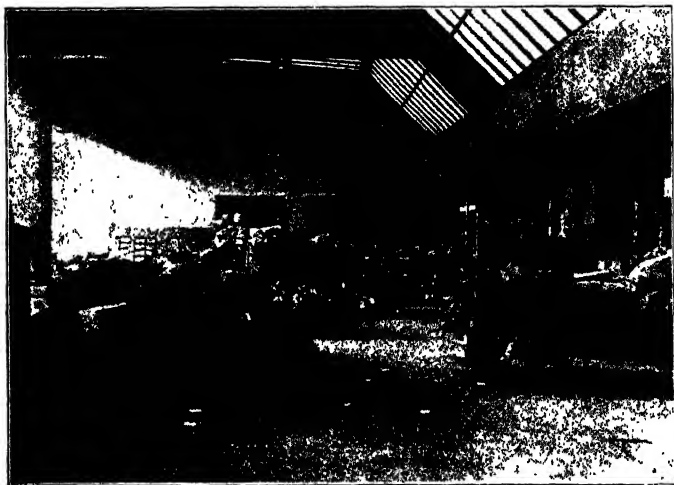
document. Federal aid to enterprises of that kind was therefore stopped for a considerable period.

But this policy toward "internal improvements," as they were called, was not permanent. With the general acceptance of the "broad construction" idea, the objections disappeared. Millions of acres of public land were given to railroad companies to aid in constructing the roads. Millions of dollars are appropriated almost every year to spend in improving the rivers and harbors of the country. To-day we find the government itself undertaking great public improvements. On the Panama Canal nearly \$400,000,000

proposal was made that the national government should give money from its treasury to aid in the construction of these public works. A great national highway known as the Cumberland Road was begun, to run west from Cumberland, Md., through Wheeling, across Ohio, and beyond. Presidents Jefferson and Madison, who held to the "strict construction" theory in interpreting the Constitution, did not believe such expenses were authorized by that

was spent, and the government has built a railroad to tap the coal fields of Alaska and reach the heart of that promising though still little-known dominion.

180. The Post Office. — Closely united with the railroad in the minds of most of us is the post office, for to-day an enormous part of the post office business of the country is carried by the trains. But the idea of the post office existed



Courtesy Postmaster General.

THE RECEIVING PLATFORM OF A POST OFFICE.

Bags of parcel post and other mail matter have just arrived for distribution or further shipment.

even in this country, far ahead of the railroad. As soon as our national government was organized under the present Constitution, the postmaster-general assumed charge of the 75 post offices that then existed in the United States. The revenue received from the post office at that time was about \$37,000. To-day we have about 52,000 post offices and would have 25,000 more if it were not for our rural free delivery. The income of the Post Office Department in a year is nearly \$500,000,000. To-day the Department em-

employs over 200,000 people — more than any other branch of the national government.

Our post office does many things besides carrying letters and newspapers, as most of you doubtless know. Its money order system was started in 1864 and has been very greatly developed. The rural free delivery was begun about 1896 and has done wonders to keep our farming districts in touch daily with what goes on in all parts of the country. About



AN OLD COVERED BRIDGE, OXFORD, MAINE.

These are gradually disappearing, but they are still an interesting feature of many a New England scene.

the most recent expansions of our postal service are the establishment of the postal savings banks, and the parcel post, which has taken up the business of carrying packages from one place to another.

Find out the way mail matter is classified, and the charges demanded on each class. Make up some examples for the class to solve. What are the rates to foreign countries? What is the Universal Postal Union?

181. Telling the News. — It would have taken President Washington a week or more to send a message from Philadelphia to his Mount Vernon estate and receive a reply. One day in December, 1898, the writer stood in front of a

newspaper office in Providence about 5:30 in the afternoon, and read this bulletin which had just been posted: "The treaty of peace was signed in Paris at 8 o'clock to night." How could this happen?

When Washington was President the postage rates on letters varied with the distance to be traveled. Six cents was the lowest rate, and it cost twenty-five cents to send a letter over 450 miles. In 1914 one could send a letter to London, Berlin, Panama, or Manila for two cents. What made this difference?

Part of the answer is given by the railroads and steamship lines, of which we have spoken. Another part is obtained through the harnessing of electricity for the sending of messages. The telegraph of Morse, the Atlantic Cable, which we owe to the perseverance of Cyrus W. Field, the Bell Telephone, seem now to be everyday necessities. Without the aid of all these, we could not learn what is going on in the world much more easily than Washington could. The business man, too, would be absolutely lost without them.

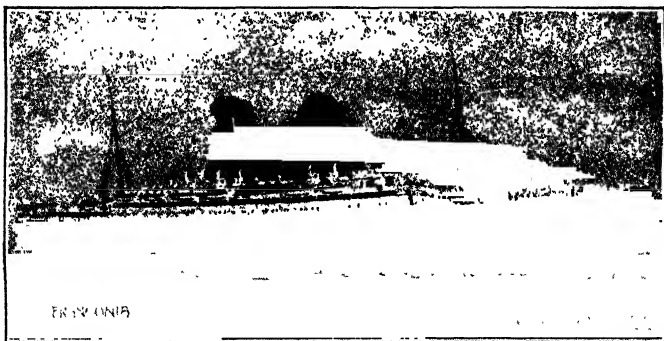
Encouraged by the possibilities of getting news quickly and easily, great newspapers have been established in every large city, with thousands of smaller ones which try to meet the demands of less populous communities. To secure this news and distribute it to the newspapers, world-wide news agencies such as the Associated Press have been formed. In every important community in the world, they have their agents who are alert for everything noteworthy that occurs and who report it at once to their home headquarters. From here the items are sent out by wire to all parts of the country.

Not only do we have these agencies for telling the news, but other people make it their business to comment on their significance. Every good newspaper has its editorial page where the views of the editor or publisher are set forth. Besides the newspapers there are many magazines, weekly or monthly, which summarize the events recorded in the dailies and try to interpret them for their readers. Many of these

publications have circulations reaching up into the hundreds of thousands.

Make a list of ten newspapers and ten magazines which you would judge to have a large circulation. Discuss their most noticeable qualities. Do you think they can all be equally trusted?

182. Our Merchant Marine. — The United States has come to be a great exporting nation. Our meat products and cotton have been for many years in demand by other countries. Our iron and steel and many other manufactured goods have been sought abroad. The Great War increased



A BIG TRANSATLANTIC LINER.

enormously for a little while the demand for American goods, and Europe has not yet settled down after the ravages of that war sufficiently to permit the recovery of her past industrial activity.

A considerable part of our imports consist of things that we cannot produce in sufficient quantities at home — sugar, coffee, tea, and the like — although we import a good many manufactured goods, especially those kinds we have not yet acquired the art of making well.

It is no disgrace to import goods in large quantities. It may be much better sense to let other countries produce those things for which they are best suited, and turn our at-

tention to the things which we are better able to produce. Nations would be foolish to try to produce everything they want all the time. Foreign commerce is one of the means of communication between nations. It brings about understanding and acquaintance, though unfortunately it has often led to conflicts.

In spite of the enormous growth of our foreign commerce in recent years, we have sometimes felt humiliated when we noticed that by far the greater part of this was carried in ships which flew other flags than the Stars and Stripes. Before the Civil War we had a great merchant fleet, but later the percentage of the world's ocean commerce which we carried ourselves steadily declined.

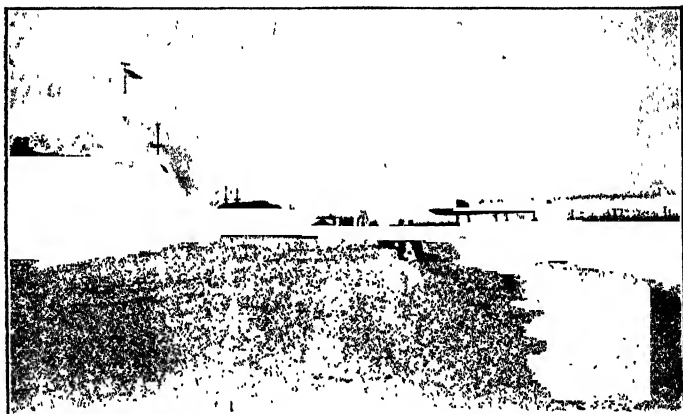
When the Great War broke out, the European ships which had carried our foreign commerce were largely needed for war purposes by the countries engaged in the struggle. To meet this awkward situation, Congress established a United States Shipping Board with extensive authority to assist in the development of our commerce. In two years the tonnage of American ships was almost doubled and we are again second only to Great Britain.

Yet, after all, we are not satisfied with the present situation. Our government does not care to operate ships as a business and for some reason private interests have either not cared to go into this business extensively or have feared they could not compete with the shippers of other countries.

To relieve this difficulty a "ship subsidy" policy has been urged from time to time. This policy would call for the appropriation of money from our national treasury to assist companies in carrying on foreign trade under the American flag. We have for a long time insisted that trade between our own harbors shall be carried on in American ships. But it is still a debatable question whether we ought to work toward such a policy with reference to our foreign trade if we can do so only by paying considerable sums out of our own treasury.

Do you think it really makes any difference to the prosperity and safety of the American people whether our imports and exports are carried in American ships or ships under some other flag?

183. Traffic and Messages through the Air. — In a sense man has conquered the land and water. He now invades the realms of the air. The various forms of airships which men have learned to use to some extent are all very new. In fact, war has done fully as much as any other agency to aid



THE LANDING OF A HYDROPLANE.

This scene is at Atlantic City. For successful starting and landing the right sort of landing-place must be available.

in the advancement of airships and airplanes. Airplanes played a great part in the Great War and will do so again if we are unfortunate enough to have another war.

The airship has rendered many valuable services in peace. Already planes traverse regular mail routes from coast to coast, carrying letters. They have not yet undertaken to carry heavy freight. Passenger schedules are operated between London and Paris with considerable regularity. We can only prophesy as to the future of air traffic as a means of carrying goods and passengers, but when we recall the comments about the early railroads we are led to believe

The Meaning of These Factors in Our Life 379

that there is no limit to the possible development of the airplane.

But the air carries communication also. The radio is one of the most noteworthy inventions or discoveries that recent years have brought to us. Just now to many it is somewhat of a fad, and their chief interest is to listen to concerts distributed from various centers to homes or institutions in the immediate neighborhood or hundreds or thousands of miles away. Undoubtedly it can be of great practical value. It has saved ships from destruction and has enabled passengers of an Atlantic liner to get the news of the world every day on board the vessel. The addresses of presidential candidates can now, by the use of the radio, be heard by vast audiences that could not possibly assemble in person. Here again we can only guess the limits of its future usefulness.

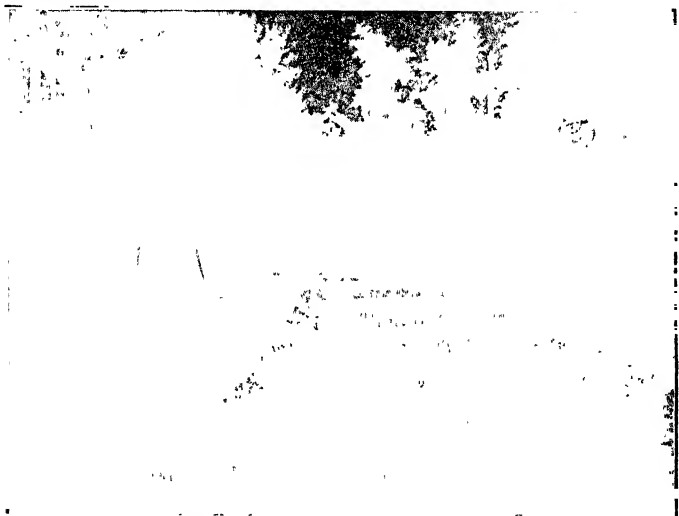
What do you think is likely to be the effect of the radio on church attendance? Will it relieve some of the unpleasant features of country life? Will the radio have any effect on the movies as means of entertainment for the people?

184. The Meaning of These Factors in Our Life. — In many ways which we can clearly understand, even though we do not see them at work with our physical eyes, all these agents of communication and transportation affect us vitally. They enable us to be intelligent and to have a better understanding of the things that take place all over the world. They enable the business man to conceive and execute great enterprises which can be properly carried out only when all phases of their operation can be managed by one man or from one office. Governments, too, carry on war or conduct the activities of peace, with a speed and efficiency of which George Washington never dreamed.

Two other influences exerted by these factors of "trade, travel, and news" we have had frequent occasion to emphasize in taking up many of the topics we have studied. They bind together a community, a nation, and even the

world, and produce a common interest in the things that concern all alike. They also have brought it about that we can no longer pretend to be independent in any way except in our government and in our thinking. As Paul says, "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." We depend upon each other for things which we do not try to provide through our own efforts.

It seems to require something like a great war to make us realize the truth of these facts. In time of peace, when



AN ATTRACTIVE CONCRETE HIGHWAY.

matters are going smoothly, we fail to observe the forces that make us what we are. In time of war, when they are rudely interrupted, we see their importance and their hold upon our lives.

Go over the elements of community welfare, the activities of our governments, the various problems which we have studied, and point out the connection of them all with the means of transportation and communication.

What effect have these improvements had upon the amount and character of laws?

185. The Movements of the People. — One feature remains to be mentioned, to which we have not given much direct attention. It is the problem of migration — the moving of the people from one place to another. The coming in of the foreigner we shall mention a little later. Within our own borders similar movements are going on most of the time. Perhaps the greatest single force in our whole history is that unrelenting movement of our people westward. We doubt



A TOURIST CAMP, HILLSBORO, WISCONSIN.

Enterprising communities frequently set aside an attractive place like this, where automobile tourists may spend the night comfortably.

that those who took part in it could always tell why. It was an impulse, a call, that they could not resist.

Without the steamboat and the railroad this movement must have been impossible to the degree in which it did occur. But for their aid, the occupation of our vast central valleys, the western prairies, the mountain regions, and the sunset slopes of the Pacific, would not yet be completed. Jefferson thought at one time that it would take a thousand years to people the lands east of the Mississippi.

The nation whose people stay fixed in the place where they are born is likely to become stagnant. The people whose

laborers are comparatively free to go from place to place when a better opportunity is offered will show a much higher standard of life and higher wages among its working men. This "mobility" of labor, as the economist calls it, is possible only when transportation and communication are easy and cheap.

How many times have you or your family moved? Why did you do it?

Travel for pleasure or for greater knowledge of the world is also rendered pleasant and desirable by the improvements in the facilities of which we are speaking. Great roads like the Lincoln and Dixie Highways make travel in automobiles delightful east and west, north and south. In the Pullman cars one can have nearly all the luxuries of home. He can carry his money in the form of traveler's checks issued by the express companies, which will be accepted almost anywhere. If he needs to communicate with his friends, the mail and the telegraph are ready for his use. To "see America first," as the railroad companies are urging, becomes almost an obligation upon a citizen who wishes to be intelligent, when he can do it as easily and comfortably as is possible to-day.

Means of communication and transportation to-day are varied and marvelous, yet most of them have come to us since the beginning of the nineteenth century. They mean much to us — even our life itself. They have made it possible for us to become a strong, progressive people. They must be developed and safeguarded with the utmost care.

QUESTIONS

Describe the means of communication and transportation alluded to in stories from the Bible or in Greek and Roman history with which you are familiar. What was the state of the means of travel and communication at the beginning of the nineteenth century? How has the automobile affected our lives?

Relate the effect of the canal upon our industrial development. What effect did the railroad have upon canal construction? What

has been the influence of the steamboat upon the progress of the railroad? Trace the growth of great railroad systems of the country. Do you think any of the various types of aircraft will be of industrial service?

Give some facts to show the progress of the postal system. Make clear the ways in which electricity serves us by way of communication and transportation. Explain the significance of the names Morse, Field, Bell, and Marconi. How far-reaching do you estimate the newspaper to have been and to be in American life? Can you name any newspapers that have or have had a national reputation? How far do you form your opinion from what you read?

What are some of the principal features of our foreign commerce? What is meant by *merchant marine*? *ship subsidy*?

From references to these topics while taking up other subjects in our study, show how the inventions and developments of which we have spoken helped to bind us together and leave us no longer industrially or socially independent. Do you think this change is for the better?

How have improved means of transportation encouraged people to move about? What reasons cause people to move from one place to another within the country? In what directions has this migration gone? What does the name Pullman signify in regard to the character of present-day travel?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Practically all the means of communication, inventions, and inventors mentioned would make interesting themes for study. Both as examples of great business organizations and as illustrations of our present topic, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Bell system, and the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies would repay careful study. The Wells Fargo Express Company, the American Railway Express, the Pullman Car Company, and the great railroad systems — the New York, New Haven and Hartford, the Pennsylvania, the Santa Fe, the "Harriman" roads, the "Hill" roads, and the like, would all yield fruitful results from the investigation of them.

The Erie Canal.

The Panama Canal.

The United States Shipping Board.

The United States Lines.

What the Railroad Means to Our Community (or some other).

America's Great Railroad Systems.

The Great War and Our Foreign Trade.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE GOVERNMENT'S RELATION TO BUSINESS

*Money was made, not to command our will,
But all our lawful pleasures to fulfill. — Cowley.*

We are very proud of our business accomplishments, but we have found that some business interests care for nothing except their own gains. Is it best that our business men should be entirely free to carry on business just as they please? How can we keep business square, productive, and trustworthy? Why should our Federal government have some authority over business interests, and how far does it and should it go?

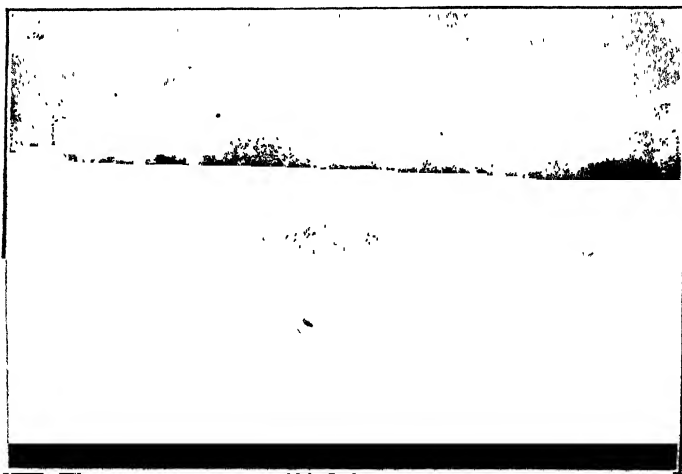
186. **The Problems of the Case.** — It is of tremendous importance that the "masters of transportation," as Mr. Spearman calls them, do not become our masters also. We must have the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, if our present civilization is to continue. But if we allow these agencies to remain in the hands of private citizens, we must have it assured that they do not take from us more than a reasonable profit. Their object is to serve us at a fair rate. We do not live to help make them rich.

If a government does not provide certain necessary things for its citizens itself, it must allow private citizens or companies to do this work, even though they will have to use the streets or other public property. The formal grant of the right to do this is called a *franchise*. It is a definite grant of power or privilege made by the government to a private individual or corporation. Often the privilege of voting is correctly referred to by this name, but at this time we are not using the word in that sense.

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A street railway company, for example, gets a franchise permitting it to lay tracks on certain streets and run cars over them, and a telephone company gets a franchise entitling it to put up poles and string wires along them.

The work undertaken under franchises like this has so often seemed of great service to the people that in their joy at getting the thing done they have overlooked the possibility that the company getting the franchise might



A FAMOUS BRIDGE.

The Eads Bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis. To what extent might franchises be needed for anything you see here ?

make itself the master instead of the servant of the people. They have forgotten that since the company could not make money except from the people themselves, the people had a right to expect a reasonable return from the privileges which they gave to the company. Franchises have been granted for ridiculously long terms, such as 99 or even 999 years, and sometimes without a cent of recompense coming back to the people.

To remedy such evils governments are to-day seldom

granting franchises for more than twenty-five years and are insisting that the people may have the right to buy up the business itself after a certain time if they wish, paying the company which had the franchise a reasonable sum for its property and its work. Either a share in the profits or some other form of payment is often asked, besides.

Pipes for gas or water are almost invariably put under ground. The idea of putting electric wires there also is becoming popular. Wires strung on poles may ruin the beauty of a street, besides being at times a menace to life and property. Telegraph and telephone companies, too, usually prefer to have their wires underground, if the change can be made without too great expense.

Should water, gas, or light companies be allowed to tear up a street any time they wish?

187. Theories of Governmental Policy. — The prevailing notion a century or more ago in regard to the relation of governments to industry was that known as the *laissez-faire* policy, which might be translated freely, *Let them alone*. The teaching of the great economist Adam Smith, and the political views of our own Thomas Jefferson, were of this kind. "That government is best which governs least," was Jefferson's phrasing. The motive of these men was excellent — that each person should be unhindered in development along the lines that suited him best.

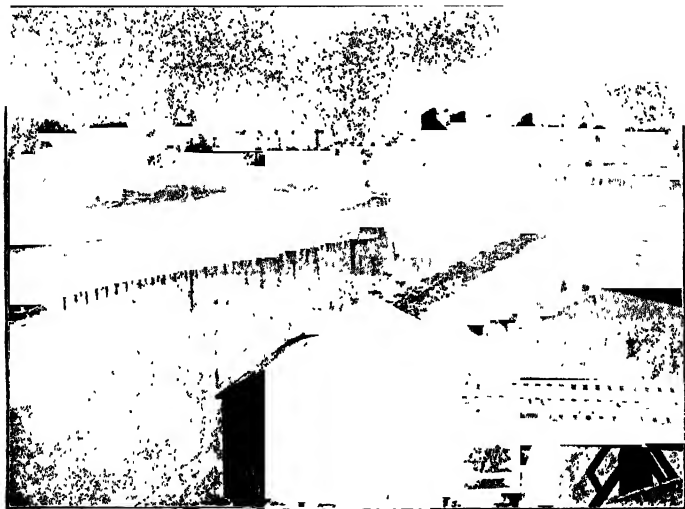
But they seemed not to realize that their doctrine was the doctrine of the strongest, and that if some authority did not protect the weaker members of society, there was an end to the hope of their ever rising. Social and industrial warfare would be the constant and inevitable outcome of such a policy. The rights of the individual, whose liberty Jefferson was so deeply interested in, cannot be preserved by such a government unless every individual is equally strong, and it is foolish to expect that such a condition can ever exist.

In place of this individualistic attitude we now lay stress

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on the *social* duty of governments. See to it, we say, that every one shall have an equal chance. If the exercise by one man or one corporation of entire freedom of action is going to promote the interests of the whole community, let him go ahead. But if entire freedom of action on his part deprives others of rights to which they are entitled, he must be restrained.

It is on this principle that we believe governments should say to the factory owner, "You must keep your establishment



A RAILROAD ENTERING A GREAT CITY.

United States navigation laws required that this navigable stream should be open. Hence the drawbridge.

clean and equip it with fire escapes, even if it does cost you something"; and to the saloon keeper, "If your business harms the community without giving it anything of importance in return, it must be closed up"; and to the monopolist, "If we allow you to enjoy this monopoly, we must have the privilege of supervising it so as to be sure that the people are helped and not hindered by it." The "police power" of the state—

its right and duty to protect the life, the health, and the morals of its citizens — means more to-day than ever.

Some people have even proposed that the government should attempt to settle upon a fair price for the necessities of life and not permit any dealer to charge more than this price. No government has thus far undertaken this except as a war measure to prevent speculators taking advantage of the distress of the people.

188. The Protective Tariff. — Another live question involves the extent to which the government should try to assist industry. Taxes can be so arranged that industries can be encouraged or ruined, or that certain goods can be excluded entirely. To put a tax of \$10 a pound on imported butter would be the most certain way of keeping foreign butter out of the country. If a tax on imported butter were five cents a pound, however, the result would probably be to reduce considerably the amount of butter imported and to permit butter-makers in this country to charge four or five cents a pound more than they could otherwise get. Butter-makers would be glad of that, but what about the rest of the people?

Here is the kernel of the whole argument between a protective tariff and a revenue tariff — is it better for the people as a whole that Americans should be able to make everything they need and that, in order to do that, manufacturers should be enabled to charge prices higher than we could get the same thing for elsewhere? Or should this artificial encouragement of home manufacturers be removed, with a probable detriment to some industries and a reduction in prices due to the lower cost of foreign-made goods?

If we believe that it is desirable to have a protective tariff high enough to enable us to produce most of what we need, it does not follow that we must try to justify every protective tariff law that we have had. Sensible people in both the great political parties seem to have reached the conclusion that the tariff should not be a political question, but

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that it is an economic problem. A Federal Tariff Commission of six members has been established, with the power to recommend desirable changes in the rates, so that they can be altered by Congress without passing an entirely new tariff bill and upsetting business generally.

189. Anti-Trust Laws. — If it is true that the proper motive in business and politics should be "the greatest good to the greatest number," there is no question of the need of regulation of monopolies by the government. If the monopolist is producing one of the necessities of life, he holds in his hands the power even of life and death over thousands and perhaps millions of people. By all odds such monopolies should be enjoyed only by the government itself or under such strict governmental supervision that the monopolist shall be prevented from robbing the people in order to fill his own pockets.

But "big business" has come to stay, and if it is kept under proper control it can often serve the public much better than if hundreds of small fry tried to do the same thing each for himself. What a nuisance it often is to have two or three different telephone companies operating in the same city! If two street car companies try to serve the same section of a city, one of them or both will probably go into bankruptcy before long.

Our first attempts to regulate business in the interest of the people went on the theory that we ought to prevent any interference with free competition. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act, passed by Congress in 1890, declared that any combination "in restraint of trade between the states" was illegal. The act lay harmlessly on the books until President Roosevelt came into office. Believing that a law is not for ornamental purposes only, he caused numerous prosecutions to be made for violation of it, and these were continued under later administrations.

The Standard Oil Company was ordered to break up into the parts from which it was originally formed, and the To-

bacco Trust was treated in the same way. But though some good unquestionably resulted, since big business organizations were more careful how they conducted their business, the net result was much less than had been expected. The Clayton Act of 1914 was intended to define more clearly the purpose and scope of trust regulation, and to make clear just what practices are illegal.

Greater success has been attained in dealing with the railroads. Beginning with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, restrictive measures were started which have wrought tremendous improvements. The practice of "pooling" was forbidden, for one thing. This was the scheme by which three or four railroads running between the same cities would agree to combine all their earnings and divide them later in accordance with a fixed percentage. When such an agreement was in force, no road cared whether it served the public well or not, for it was to get just so much and no more for its service, and the public had to patronize some one of the roads in the "pool" anyway. Other laws forbade "rebating" — that is, giving back to some favored shipper a part of the money he was supposed to pay for his freight.

If you buy a dozen pairs of stockings at once, should you pay twelve times as much as for one pair? Does the same argument apply to railroad rates?

The original Interstate Commerce Commission has been enlarged in membership and given much broader powers. Most of the states have laws of the same kind to deal with railroads and other public utilities whose business is entirely within state lines. The Esch-Cummins Act of 1920, under which the railroads were restored to private management after the Great War, put more responsibility than ever upon the Commission. It also provided for the establishment of the Railway Labor Board to consider labor disputes between the managers and the employees of the railroads.

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So much good, on the whole, has been accomplished through governmental supervision of railroads that many people urge a similar supervision of all business organizations working on an extensive scale. The Federal Trade Commission, which thus far is allowed to do little more than investigate and recommend, can very easily be given increased authority.

190. Government Ownership and Operation of Public Utilities. — In most European countries the telephones and telegraphs are operated in connection with the post office as a natural government function, and on the continent most of the railroads are also government owned. In this country, however, our theories of government have tended to limit rather than extend the government's activities. Besides, from such great corporations as the Bell Telephone Company, the Western Union Telegraph Company, and the best of the railroads we have had service efficient enough so that the public had little to complain about.

The advocate of government ownership says that it will give the public better service at lower rates, because private profit will be removed or else the income may be used to meet the other expenses of government. Instead of allowing wealth represented by our public utilities to be concentrated in the hands of a few, the government will manage it in the interests of *all* the people. Corruption of public officials by private money and the granting of special favors to certain patrons would be stopped, and the bringing of all employees under civil service rules would encourage efficient administration.

The opponent of government ownership says that it would add an enormous burden of debt unless the government should be so outrageously unfair as to seize the property without paying for it. He argues that private ownership has to be progressive and efficient, while under government ownership there is no competition and the public must put up with what they get.

Furthermore he maintains that instead of improving the quality of the employees it would make it worse, for it would bring hundreds of thousands more jobs into politics, and the pressure would be such that no civil service system could be upheld. But in peace and in war these utilities must be operated. Now that the experiences of the War are over, private ownership has another chance. Upon its success or failure depends the future of public utilities.

The protection and promotion of business enterprise has always been an aim of our government. But laws regulating business organization and commerce, in the interest of all the people have been from time to time enacted or changed. The most desirable policy is a constant issue in politics, and yet the basic laws of business management remain unchanged.

QUESTIONS

How has the development of trade worked harm in international relations? How has it brought difficulties into domestic industry and government? What has been done to keep transportation agencies under control? Are any further steps needed?

Define *franchise*. Mention some of the evils that have attended the granting of franchises, explaining the reasons for them. What remedies can you suggest?

State the various theories about the relation of government to industry. Which seems most sensible?

Explain the underlying distinction between a tariff for revenue and a protective tariff. Does it follow that because a certain tariff policy seems to work well in one country it would be equally good for all? Would it be an improvement if the tariff were wholly removed from politics? What is the purpose of the Tariff Commission? Who are its members? What has the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to do with our recent industrial history? the Interstate Commerce Acts? the Esch-Cummins Act?

Define *pooling*; *rebate*. How far should state or national governments supervise or control railroads and "big business"?

Compare the extent of government ownership of public utilities in Europe and America. Why is it so limited here? Summarize the arguments for and against it—both those which are given in the text and any others which you can think of.

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SPECIAL TOPICS

Resolved, that the national government should be given power to fix a maximum price for all food products.

Resolved, that interstate railroads (or telephones and telegraphs) should be owned and operated by the federal government.

Resolved, that the prosperity of the United States depends upon the permanent retention of the protective tariff idea.

Adam Smith and His Ideas.

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Beard: American Government, Chapter 7.

PART IV

PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS OF SOCIETY

CHAPTER XXVIII

AMERICA, THE "MELTING POT"

*America! thou half-brother of the world!
With something good and bad from every land. — Bailey.*

*One flag, one land, one heart, one hand,
One Nation evermore. — Holmes.*

America is a cosmopolitan nation. What does that mean? What races form a part of our varied population? What effect have they had upon our life? What difficult questions arise from these varied relationships?

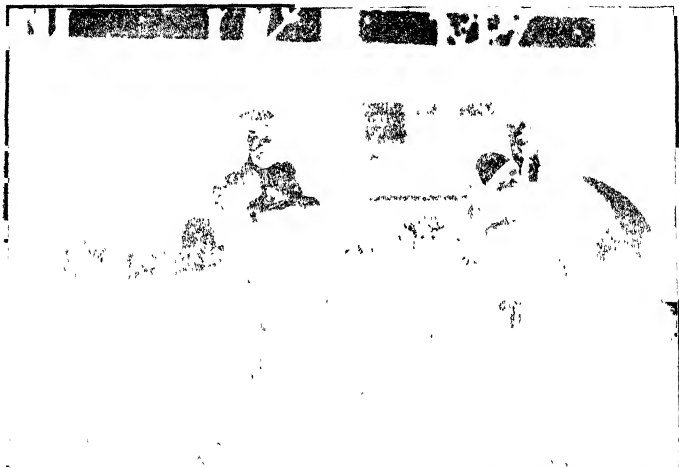
191. Where Did We Come From? — A noted writer once referred to the United States as the melting pot into which all races and tongues in the world are cast, so that out of them might be made a new nation, with qualities derived from all who form a part of it. Some one may remark, too, that with the exception of the Indian, we are all immigrants, for our ancestors came from some part of Europe.

Very true that is, yet it may be misleading. There is a great difference between a group of immigrants who know the laws and customs and speak the language of the people with whom they associate, and the immigrants who are used to such different ideas, methods of life, and habits that they cannot for some time form a part of the community into which they come.

The people who settled along the Atlantic coast in colonial days were enough alike in language, customs, and ideals, so

that there was little difficulty in their forming one social group. For over half a century after the Revolution the number of immigrants was very small. The wonderful westward expansion that went on so rapidly during that time was a movement of Americans from one part to another of their own country.

But toward the middle of the last century a tremendous new movement started. The failure for some years of the



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WHEN THE IMMIGRANT ARRIVES.

Numerous formalities, including the inspection of baggage, medical examinations, and other details, have to be completed before an immigrant can be admitted. Meantime there is nothing for him to do but wait.

potato crop in Ireland and the downfall of the movement for liberal government in Germany, along with other causes, induced many hundreds of thousands of people from those countries to come to the United States in the expectation of bettering their conditions. A little later an extensive immigration from Norway and Sweden took place.

Often the term, "the old immigration," is used to distinguish this wave of immigrants from "the new immigration"

of the last few decades. The old immigrants, as you observe, all came from northern or western Europe. Whether from England, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia, or France, most of them fitted readily into the life and customs of America. The new immigration is different. It comes largely from southern Italy, Austria, Poland, and Russia.

In 1910 one person in seven living in the United States was born abroad. More of these came from Germany than from any other one country, but already Russia and Austria have sent so many that they rank second and third. Taking the immigrants in recent years, we find that 75 per cent of the whole number were from southern and eastern Europe.

Trace your own "family tree" as far back as you can. Let the teacher add these together and see how large a percentage of each nationality is represented in your class for three or four generations back.

192. Why Do They Come? — In the days when America was new, there were three main reasons that caused men and women to try their fortunes in the New World — poor opportunities for earning a living, tyranny of rulers, and religious persecution. To-day, just as three hundred years ago, the same impulses are at work. The wages paid everywhere in Europe are much lower than in this country. The laborer over there may be living in fair comfort, for everything costs less than it does here, but when he is told that he can get as much in two days here as in a week in his own land, he thinks this must be next door to paradise. His friends over here write to him such encouraging stories that he wants to join them, and the agents of the steamship companies, who want his passage money, picture America so brilliantly as the land of opportunity that he finally comes.

Disillusioned? Yes, indeed, time after time, but enough of the immigrants do get what seem to them big wages so that the tale of America's waiting wealth continues to be told as glowingly as ever. A few years ago it was common for employers in this country who wanted to employ large

numbers of cheap laborers to hire them in masses in the Old World and pay their passage over here. Our laws now forbid this practice, but sometimes they are evaded.

The chief substitute for the political tyranny of former centuries has been the compulsory military service required on the continent of Europe. This cause has been more effective in causing emigration from Germany and Italy than



IMMIGRANTS AT ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK.

elsewhere, and it has been the motive that brought many to the United States.

Religious persecution is less common to-day than ever before in history, but at least it has been one reason why so many Russian Jews have sought the freedom of America.

193. What Becomes of Them?—If we could take our immigrants to the farm lands that even yet are waiting for the right people to use them, and could distribute them over the country somewhat equally in all sections, our problem would be greatly simplified. But when the first great immigration movement came, there was no chance to turn it

toward the South, for there the work that the immigrant could do was being done by the negro slave.

And so the immigrants stayed in the North, and the greater part in the northern cities. Many Germans took up farming, it is true, and numerous Scandinavians have gone to the wheat fields of Minnesota and the Dakotas, but few of the Irish did so and almost none of the "new immigrants." And even now the South takes hardly any foreigners. No section of the country has so nearly a pure native American population as the southern states east of the Mississippi River.

The East Side of New York, already thickly packed, manages to absorb a few more thousands every year, as do the similar districts in Chicago. The cotton mills of cities like Fall River and Lowell have taken many foreigners to Massachusetts. The coal mines of Pennsylvania and the steel and glass factories of the Pittsburgh district have drawn several hundred thousand Austrians, Hungarians, Poles, and Italians to that state. Almost one person in three in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New York is of foreign birth. If we add to those states Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin we shall include three-fourths of the foreign-born population of the country.

How do the sections with the largest native American population compare in prosperity and progress with other sections? Is this condition because of or in spite of the immigrant?

The effect of such crowding into places already crowded cannot be otherwise than harmful. Look at almost any list of cases tried in a criminal court in a district where foreigners are at all numerous, and you will find a proportion of foreign names far greater than the percentage of foreigners in the whole population of the neighborhood. You will make the same observation if you look at the lists of admissions to poorhouses and insane asylums. If the foreigner becomes a voter, he may easily be swayed by appeals to prejudice and by the corrupt use of money.

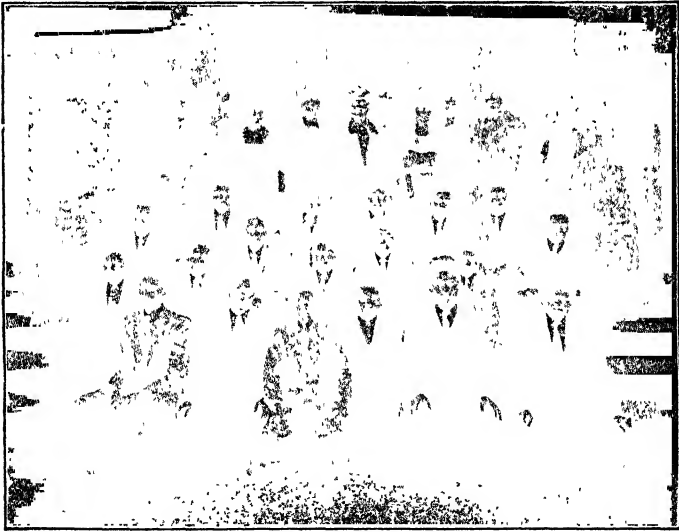
194. What Shall We Do about It?—For these conditions we must divide the blame between the American and the foreigner. Too often the native has looked down upon the immigrant and refused to associate with him; the foreigner has too often been content merely to earn money and has not tried to learn the English language and the customs of our country. Too often the American has presumed that the immigrant could throw off all his inherited habits and prejudices over night; the foreigner has too often expected our country to look at every problem as would the government from which he had come. We have only recently realized that many of the immigrants never did become really Americanized; and now we have suddenly adopted what may prove to be too strict measures for keeping them out.

For some years we have excluded the feeble-minded, the insane, and those suffering from any objectionable disease; those who have committed any serious crime; paupers, beggars, and other persons likely to be a public charge; polygamists, anarchists, and persons intending to engage in immoral practices; and laborers brought under contract made in foreign countries. A tax of eight dollars for each immigrant is now collected.

After the Great War, so extensive a rush of Europeans began that Congress hastily passed a law forbidding the admission from any country in a year of more than 3 per cent of the people born in that country who were living in the United States in 1910. The law of 1924 reduced the admissions to 2 per cent and took the 1890 census as the basis of reckoning. This change will limit considerably the immigration from southern and eastern Europe. A valuable feature of this new law is the effort to have some of the admission tests applied abroad instead of letting the foreigner suffer the disappointment of coming over here only to be sent back.

What do you think of the reading test and the percentage law? Why is neither one fully satisfactory?

195. The Yellow Man. — If all our immigrants were white people, we should not worry quite so much as we do. But on the Pacific coast, chiefly in California, there are nearly 200,000 of Chinese and Japanese. They are willing to live on much less than the American thinks he can live on, and they will work for low wages at jobs which otherwise would be given to white laborers with better pay. The Japanese are exceptionally good business men, too, and will make money at



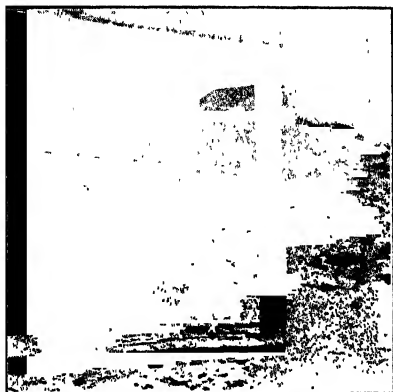
A CHINESE SUNDAY SCHOOL.

These boys and young men look intelligent and well-meaning.

gardening and other occupations where the white man cannot. Very likely some of the ill feeling of the California laboring men toward the Asiatics is due to prejudice against them because their skins are yellow, but there is also an honest fear that the cheap labor of the foreigners will leave no work for the white laborer at wages large enough for him to live on.

For these reasons we have made treaties with China which

allow us to keep Chinese laborers from coming to the United States at all. For several years we have had a "gentleman's agreement" with Japan by which the Japanese government refused to give passports to laborers wishing to come to the United States. But Congress has put into our new immigration law a provision which excludes them without regard to any such agreement. The cities of California have



AN OLD-STYLE WEAVER.

You see a Navajo Indian blanket taking shape. There is something substantial about these products which we do not always find in factory-made goods.

that some day these two nations will engage in a great war with the United States and other white nations for the mastery of the Pacific Ocean and perhaps of the world. But certainly nothing more has been done by any Japanese to stir up ill feeling toward this country than some American newspapers have done to make us distrust the Japanese. It ought to be our effort to promote good will and mutual understanding with the bright little men of the Orient who have made so much of themselves in a half century, and to avoid giving them any cause for offense.

Can a Chinese or Japanese vote in this country?

tried to exclude Japanese from schools which white children attended, and the state has passed laws intended to prevent the Japanese from becoming the owners of land. These measures were deeply resented by the sensitive Japanese, and many Americans think the matter could have been handled in a way that would have caused less unpleasantness.

Some people refer to China and Japan as "the yellow peril," and think

196. The Red Man. — Here we have the original native American — the Indian. In spite of all the checkered history in which he has taken a part since the white man came to the New World, his numbers are estimated to be at least as great as when Columbus landed on San Salvador. The latest figures show about 330,000 of them in the United States.

Our early treatment of the Indians was, as Helen Hunt Jackson called it, "A Century of Dishonor." Indians were treated as if they had no rights which any white man had to respect. If a white man wanted some Indian land, he simply helped himself to it, and was protected by our "homestead" laws in holding his title to it. No wonder Indian wars were common in the years when the West was being settled.

But for the last thirty years or so our government has tried to be fair to them, to care for them rather than to rob them. Certain districts have been set apart as Indian reservations, which no white men are allowed to occupy. Government agents are put in charge of the Indian tribes and are intrusted with the duty of looking out for their welfare. Schools are maintained by the government for their benefit. Sometimes Indian lands are bought



Courtesy of Bruce Kinney.

THE WIFE OF AN INDIAN CHIEF.

Her husband is Chief Stumbling Bear of the Kiowa Indians.

and thrown open for general settlement, but the Indians are paid for the land, instead of having it stolen from them.

When Indians or tribes leave their reservation and take up homes as white people do, they are treated exactly as white men. All Indians, wherever they live, are now considered citizens. Some of the Indians, especially the tribes now living in Oklahoma, have shown great capacity for progress in civilization. Pure-blooded or half-blooded Indians have



AN INDIAN MEETING-HOUSE.

Courtesy of Bruce Kinney.

This is not a showy house of worship, but the Indians who assemble here form as sincere a congregation of worshippers as you find among white people.

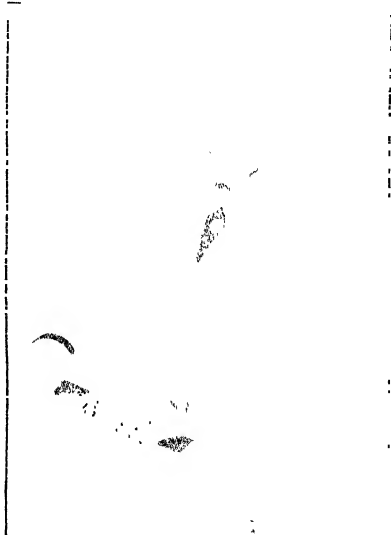
held seats in both houses of Congress, and no one thinks of the race difference between them and the whites as he does between the whites and the yellow or black men. Still some tribes do not take kindly to a starched shirt and a white collar, but prefer to live as they did a thousand years ago. The melting pot cannot make much use of them.

197. The Black Man. — Negroes were brought here during the early days of our history and their descendants are here in large numbers. As a result of the Civil War, between

3,000,000 and 4,000,000, who had been slaves, suddenly received their freedom and were promptly given all the rights of citizenship and suffrage which white men possessed under our Constitution. The change was so sudden that it was difficult for both white men and black men to adjust themselves to the new conditions.

Men have not all thought alike about the question of whether the negro should be freely admitted everywhere that white men are, or whether justice will be satisfied if he has equally good treatment, but under separate conditions. Booker T. Washington, one of the ablest men of his race, believed that negroes could best show their right to be treated fairly by being able to care for themselves in a capable way. The school which he founded at Tuskegee, Alabama, and a similar institution at Hampton, Virginia, have done very much to improve the ability of the negro people to earn an honorable and comfortable living. On the whole they have made very creditable progress.

In the last few years, a considerable number of negroes have come into the northern states to work in factories, and this has brought about some new features in the relations of white men and black men. The thing that is most needed is that each group shall try to put itself mentally in the other's



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

He was the founder of Tuskegee Institute, and is considered by many the ablest man that his race has produced in this country.

place, to understand the other, and to work harmoniously for pleasant relationships. In some places, conferences have been held between leaders of both races with excellent results. Both white men and black men are here, and it would



THE FRONT CAMPUS OF STORER COLLEGE.

This is an educational institution for colored people at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.

be a disgrace to humanity if they could not find some way of living peacefully in the same communities.

Try to find the names of at least two yellow men, two black men, and two red men who have had a high place among their own race in this country or have rendered some notable public service. Tell something about their life and work.

We have usually welcomed the immigrant because we believed that he was coming to America to look for a better opportunity and to become a real living part of our nation's life. But some of them have not fitted in well — partly through their fault and partly through ours. We want to make ours a united people, to treat all races and colors fairly. But it is not an easy task.

QUESTIONS

Compare the immigration into North America, in numbers and source, in the seventeenth century, the eighteenth, the early nineteenth, the middle of the nineteenth, and the last thirty years. How large a part of our people are foreign born?

What motives brought the first European immigrants to the New World? Why have they been coming in late years? What difference in quality is observed? What is the effect on crime and poverty of a large immigrant population?

What are the main features of our immigration laws to-day? How easy do you suppose it is for the average alien of to-day to learn and understand the ideals of American citizenship? Do you think America is in danger from them? What would you recommend that we should do about it?

Explain the meaning of the phrase, "the yellow peril." In what section of the country, and why, is the feeling over Asiatic immigration strongest? What do you think our proper policy toward Japan and China should be?

How many Indians are in the country? How were the Indians treated by our country during the first part of the nineteenth century? Can you explain it? What is the policy of our government toward them now?

Point out some reasons why misunderstandings have occurred between negroes and whites. How can such difficulties be remedied?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Immigrant as a Worker; the Immigrant as a Voter; the Immigrant as a Social Factor.

Resolved, that a literacy test for immigrants to the United States is desirable.

Are the Chinese and Japanese a Menace to the United States?

Hampton and Tuskegee.

Indians in Public Life.

A Study of the Moquis and Navajos (or other tribes in which special interest may be taken).

Americanization Movements.

How Immigrants are Received.

Resolved, that personal freedom requires us to permit schools in which other languages than English are used in instruction.

Resolved, that our present policy of restricting immigration should be the permanent policy of the country.

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE STATE'S BURDENS

A threefold responsibility is thrown upon society, — to guard itself against the acts of the criminal, to bring home the consequences to the wrong-doer, and to prevent crime. — Wright.

There's not a crime

But takes its proper change out still in crime

If rung once on the counter of the world. — E. B. Browning.

It is a pity that we have to pay money to keep our fellow-citizens peaceful. Why do people do wrong? What should be done with them? Does it pay to prevent crime? How far should the government assume the care of those who are unable to care for themselves? What are the chief kinds of needy and dependent folks?

198. Crime and Its Causes. — It will be well for us to understand right at the start of our discussion what the word "crime" means. It means simply a disregard of law, either in doing something that the law forbids or in failing to do something that the law commands.

It may or may not be morally wrong. No moral wrong can be charged against a man for peddling vegetables from house to house, but if a city passes an ordinance requiring all peddlers to take out a license the man who sells without a license commits a crime. Yet most crimes do belong to the list of acts which society as a whole thinks should not be performed.

Naturally there are grades of crime. Very serious violations of law are often called *felonies*, and may be punished by terms of imprisonment, and sometimes by a fine in addition. Less serious offenses are commonly known as *misdeemeanors*, and are punishable by a small fine or a short term of imprisonment.

The total number of crimes committed we can only guess at. Every year about 500,000 jail or prison sentences are imposed for a longer or shorter period, but this does not represent all of the crimes committed. Some criminals are let off without a sentence, some are merely fined, and many are not caught at all. Not so many brutal crimes occur as were common years ago, but forgery and other crimes requiring skill, cunning, or deceit are more numerous than formerly.

"One point must still be greatly dark, the moving why they do it," said the poet Burns. It is not always possible to explain the reason for the commission of a crime, but the causes of a large number of cases may be grouped as individual and social.

One *individual* cause is heredity. The tendency to commit crime runs in some families and seems to be inherited just as looks or size may be. Lack of education or training, too, keeps a person ignorant of the law or allows him to do improper acts because he knows no better.

Bad habits, such as the use of liquor or drugs, sometimes get men into a condition where they commit crime without realizing it at the time. They may also arouse passions which are hard to control, while at the same time they have weakened a person's will power so that it is hard for him to resist temptation. Idleness, lack of regular employment, and incompetency to carry on any trade or business are responsible for other people's straying from the path of right.

The list of *social* conditions which help to produce crime is long. Of these, home surroundings affect more people than any other one cause. A boy or girl brought up in a family where no attention is paid to teaching a child what is right and what is wrong is very likely not to make any distinctions of that kind in dealing with other people. The recreations and amusements indulged in by persons young or old may be responsible for their obedience or disobedience to law. A frequenter of gambling joints, sa-

loons, cheap "movies," public dance halls, and the like, is apt to become associated with men or scenes whose influence is ruinous, and may sooner or later become a criminal.

When hard times prevail and many are out of work, there are many instances of stealing and similar crimes in order to obtain things which a person has not the money to pay for. As the old saying had it, "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." Many a person has got into trouble because there was nothing to hold his attention and keep his mind occupied.

A low standard of public sentiment in a community also conduces to the commission of crime. If certain laws are openly violated, or if only a half-hearted effort is made to enforce any laws, crime will naturally flourish. Public officers will generally do what a community wants them to do.

Rank the causes of crime, in what you consider their relative seriousness.

199. Dealing with Criminals.—Once the spirit of revenge seemed to be the sole motive for dealing with the criminal. He had wronged society; therefore society would get back at him. It was the "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" principle. For scores of offenses the penalty was death, and the life in prisons was sometimes even worse than death.

Some honestly felt that society ought to protect its members from the evil influence of the criminal, and therefore should put him in prison, where he could not harm other people. By making penalties heavy enough, too, we can scare some people from committing crime.

None of these methods took into account the criminal himself or allowed a chance for him to get a new start after he had once gone wrong. This object, the reformation of the offender, and the prevention of crime by removing conditions which produce it are two cardinal features of present treatment of the problem of crime.

Society must always protect itself against the hardened criminal. The criminal's environment is not always to be blamed. But every possible encouragement should be given to the fallen man or woman who wants to begin over again and to do the right thing by the community which affords him a chance to earn his living.

And so criminals are sometimes let out on *probation* — that is, as long as they do right no punishment will be inflicted for some crime which has been committed. The *indeterminate sentence* is becoming common. This is not imposed for a definite period, but permits the offender to be released after a while, on his *parole*, or promise to obey the laws. Then, if he does not keep his promise, he can be brought back to serve a longer period. Or if he does not behave properly during his first imprisonment, he will not be given his freedom until the end of the longer term. In the majority of prisons nowadays some attempt is made to give a man the chance to improve himself while he is there and to treat him as if he were still a human being, even though he had done wrong and been caught at it.

Can you imagine how you would feel if you were in the criminal's place?

But even more important than the fair treatment of the criminal, is the removal of the conditions that produce crime. It is sending good money after bad to give a criminal the opportunity to wash up and put on clean clothes, and ask him if he does not want to live a better life, if the slum district from which he may have come is breeding scores more just like him.

Improvement of home conditions among the poor and in the tenement districts, the opening of playgrounds, libraries, and other places where people can get wholesome amusement and recreation, and the efforts to provide a man with a job if he wants to work, are very practical steps that must help to relieve the seriousness of the problem of the criminal.

But, like the poor, he is always with us and we must try to save him and to save ourselves from him, if society itself is to be preserved.

Do you believe in the death penalty for murderers?

200. Institutions for the Criminal. — Once it was the custom to treat in exactly the same way everybody who was sent to prison. All ages, men and women alike, were thrown into pens or dungeons that were not fit for the lowest animal, and given nothing to do except meditate on further crimes.

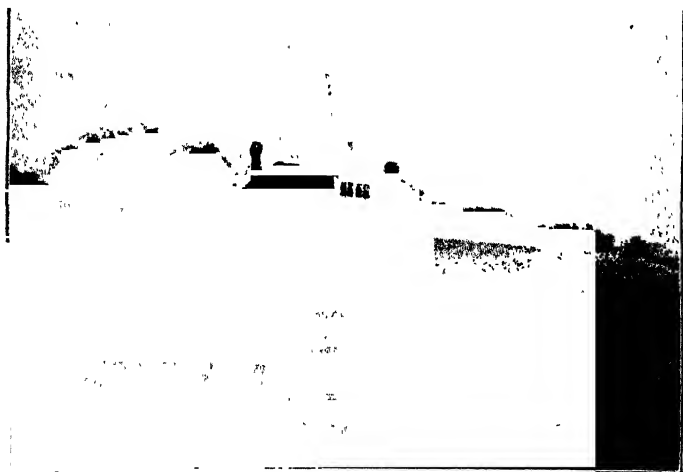
We do things better now in most states of the Union, although in some places there is still much to be desired. Those who are sentenced to imprisonment for long terms, or who are supposed to be hardened offenders, are usually sent to a *state prison* or *penitentiary*. Younger criminals are sent to institutions known as *reformatories*, where they are supposed to be placed under influences that will help them to do better. Those who are held in prison to await trial are commonly kept in a *county jail*, and those who are sentenced to short terms of imprisonment are confined in the jail or in an establishment called a *workhouse*.

Under the influence of such men as Thomas M. Osborne of New York, public interest has been strongly turned toward the improvement of sanitary conditions in prisons and toward such a treatment of the inmates as will not deprive them of whatever of self-respect may remain to them. Some believe that such efforts may be too sentimental and may offer so many privileges that there will cease to be any disgrace or call for repentance connected with a prison sentence. But no doubt we can afford occasionally to make the opposite kind of mistake from that which we have been making for centuries.

What the inmate of a prison or reformatory shall do while he is there is a troublesome question. To put him at almost any kind of work is better than to let him stay in idleness.

Sometimes the state has leased the services of its prisoners as if they were so many slaves and put them to work for the contractor who would offer the best bid for them.

More often the state itself provides the machines and raw material needed to make brooms, carpets, chairs, or something else, and sells the product itself like any other manufacturer. It is becoming the custom to credit the workman with something in the way of pay, which he may use to obtain little extras for his own use in prison or receive in



STATE PRISON, WINDSOR, VERMONT.

money when he leaves. In a number of states the state uses the prison-made goods itself, and often employs the convicts at building roads or doing some other healthful outdoor work.

Sometimes the honor system has been carried so far that road gangs have been left alone for considerable periods with nothing but their own honor or the fear of being caught to prevent them from running away. More and more the states are locating their prisons in the country, where conditions particularly favor good health and relief from temptation.

Labor unions are strongly opposed to putting convict-made goods on the market along with those made outside of prisons. Do you think this attitude is reasonable?

We are thinking much more than we once did of what the convict is to do after he gets out. Formerly when he left prison he was given a suit that fitted him about like a kimono, and was turned out into the world with every phase of his appearance suggesting that he had been a "jailbird." Few employers cared to hire such laborers. But now the best prison wardens try to keep in touch with the men who have left their care, to help them get work, and to give them advice and counsel at any time. Private societies exist also for the purpose of helping the ex-convict to a job and a new start in life.

201. **Juvenile Courts.** — In nothing is the new attitude toward crime more evident than in the treatment of children who do wrong. Instead of bringing the cases of young offenders into the same court as those of older criminals, they are handled privately and quietly before a special judge who takes a personal interest in this kind of work. Special probation officers investigate the home life of the wayward child, and they frequently find that it is well for the child to be taken out of the control of his parents. The officers also keep watch of a child who, after being brought before the judge, has been allowed to go free under a promise to avoid wrongdoing.

Methods like this do wonders to prevent the child from ruining his whole life by continuing in bad surroundings or by remaining under the influence of evil associates. If the child who thinks that nobody cares for him and that he might just as well not try to make anything of himself finds a judge or probation officer who is really interested in his welfare, more often than not he will respond heartily and try his best to earn confidence from them in his honesty and ambition to make good.

We are not certain to whom should go the credit for

starting this promising improvement. Probably the most famous juvenile judge is Ben B. Lindsey of Denver. It will not be long before most of the states adopt this eminently wise and practical plan of preventing crime by keeping boys and girls from becoming criminals.

How much can be done by schools, individuals, or other private agencies to help along this line?

202. Poverty and Its Causes. — "The poor ye have always with you," said Jesus nearly two thousand years ago. Frightfully true were those words in the land where they were spoken and in every other ancient country. No less true are they to-day. With all our fine clothes and automobiles and millionaires, there are probably at least 15,000,000 people in the United States who are not properly supplied with those things necessary to keep them in sound health and simple comfort.

Such a condition is what we mean by the word "poverty." One-third of this group belong in the class called "paupers" — that is, they receive help in some form from the government of city or state. These are not all in public almshouses — about 100,000 were found there when the latest census was taken. The rest of the 5,000,000 were helped in their own homes.

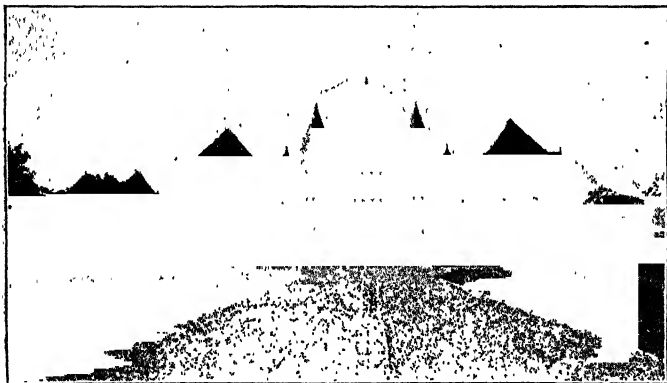
We may reasonably ask why all this want and woe exist. It is possible to distinguish three general groups of causes, which we may call physical, individual, and social.

Physical causes are those which are not due to any human agency. They may reduce thousands to poverty for a little while, but are not at work all the time, such as the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, or the Dayton flood of 1913. A plague of grasshoppers or army-worms may make the farmers in an entire section of the country feel the pinch of want for a season, but they come only once in several years.

Individual causes are much more likely to operate year

after year. If the wage earner in a family is laid up for a long time because of sickness or accident, he and his family are deprived of his wages while he is sick. Then, in trying to pay doctors' bills, to return money that was borrowed when none was coming in from work, and to catch up financially with other families again, they have labors worse than those of Hercules, for the strength of the worker may never again be what it was before he was sick or hurt.

Some others are always poor because they do not know how to handle money. When they get a cent, they spend it, per-



THE MASONIC HOME, UTICA, NEW YORK.

Social and religious orders often make provision for the old and needy among their number.

haps for some extravagance or unnecessary pleasure. Others make foolish ventures in business or permit themselves to be defrauded by a sharper in a get-rich-quick game. Some are mentally incompetent to do anything in a first-class manner. And some poverty is due just to plain laziness or unwillingness to work.

Bad habits are also a prolific cause of poverty. One who frequents pool rooms or other places of amusement carried on for profit and one who indulges regularly and extensively in tobacco or liquor may use a large part of his entire in-

come on these unnecessary and usually detrimental objects. No other one cause has produced so much poverty as intemperance. Even yet a large part of all poverty almost everywhere can be traced with some directness to this source.

Social causes are those which proceed from the general conditions of life in a community. If the wages paid are low and if the workmen lose much time because they are at work for only a few hours in a day or a few days in a month, they and their families will find it hard to get along. A change in the methods of carrying on an industry may throw thousands out of work. Great misfortunes like a financial panic or war bring poverty in their wake to thousands who in ordinary times are perfectly able to keep themselves and those dependent upon them in comfort.

Which of the causes of poverty appear to affect your community most?

203. Relieving Poverty. — The best way to get rid of poverty is to get rid of the conditions which cause it, when that can be done, instead of trying merely to cure the individual who is suffering. But no foresight can prevent an earthquake and no knowledge that we now have can prevent storms and grasshoppers. In some conditions poverty will always exist to some degree, and we shall have to try to make it less destructive of health and happiness. But should the help that is given be limited to establishing poorhouses and other charitable institutions and requiring those who are helped to live there, or should the poor be helped in their own homes? The former method is often called indoor relief and the latter outdoor relief. Very likely all of these forms of help will need to be employed to some extent, for the conditions under which poverty occurs are by no means the same with every person or family.

One thing is certain: giving aid to people who really do not need it may produce far more harm than good. It may take away from them the energy and enterprise which all

ought to have and impose an unfair burden on those who try to provide for their own needs. Help should always be of the kind that is really needed. If a family is starving, it is better to give them food than money, lest they spend some of it for going to the "movies." If they are sick, it is better to pay a doctor to go and see them than to hand the family five or ten dollars.

The best results can be obtained from charity only when all charitable societies work together. That is why in many



A BUTTER LINE IN BERLIN, 1923.

These are not all poor people, though German money had become almost worthless. They could buy only a limited amount of butter at a time. Many of them were sure to be disappointed, for the supply would give out long before all could be accommodated.

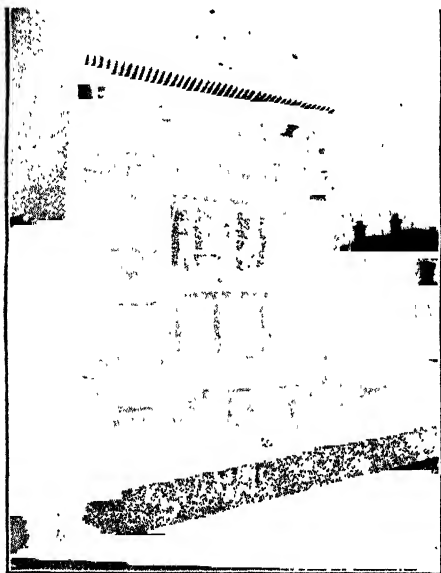
cities organizations called Associated Charities or United Charities are formed, and why these private charitable societies should work in harmony with city or state boards of charities. If coöperative work is not done, the same individuals or families may receive help from several sources, and while pretending to be poor may live in great comfort. At the same time worthy poor people may be entirely overlooked because they lack the effrontery of others who put themselves in the way of the charity workers.

But with a capable central organization it is possible to refer each case to the organization which is best suited to deal with it. Investigation can be made to determine whether help is really needed and what kind is most called for. Something can be accomplished, too, toward helping a poor family to live better, and perhaps a job can be secured

for some one who is out of work.

If you have had any experience with work done among the poor, do you think they appreciate it?

One very effective means of bringing light and pleasure and progress into the poor districts of our large cities is the settlement house. This may be the gift of some wealthy man or be founded through the combined generosity of many people. Gymnasiums, entertainment halls, choruses, classes in sewing,



THE IRENE KAUFMANN SETTLEMENT.

This institution does a valuable work in a Jewish section of Pittsburgh.

ing, cooking, or the "book" subjects, are here offered to young and old alike. Some one or two workers generally live in the house all the time, but always a great opportunity is offered for voluntary service on the part of any who are interested in playing the "good Samaritan." There are now nearly 500 of such establishments, scattered through all the large cities of the land, and working with all colors and races.

204. Public Charitable Agencies. — The town, the city, and the county do most of the work of caring for the poor and unfortunate, as far as this is done by the govern-



CHRISTMAS FOR CRIPPLED KIDDIES.

Sometimes schools and churches can do much to make a happier time for these unfortunate ones.

ment. Most of the larger towns in New England keep a "poor farm," where the destitute ones who have no friends or relatives to care for them are sent. Cheerless places

these usually are, though if a warden or matron happens to feel that in rendering this service some real Christian work is being done, even a town farm can be kept tidy and comfortable. Outside of New England it is common for the county to take over this duty, except that the large cities have an institution to care for their own poor.

It was once the custom to put the old, the pauper, the epileptic, the feeble-minded, the insane, and the lazy all in the same place, and to treat them all with about an equal amount of neglect. Such inhumanity has now almost disappeared. At least insane and poor are kept in different parts of the institution, and the children are kept away from both. Much of the work about an establishment of this kind can be done by the inmates, even by the insane. In this way the expenses of operation are kept down and the inmates themselves are better off for having some healthful employment. Children who have no homes are sometimes kept in public institutions, but an effort is often made to find real homes for them.

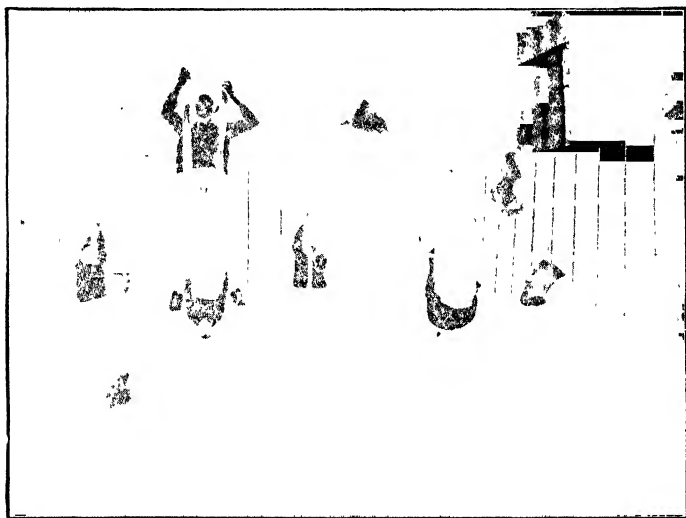
To what degree of relationship does any obligation exist to support a sick or poor relative? Do you think a child brought up in an orphan asylum gets a good training for life?

In most of the states there is a state board of charities which has a general right to inspect the poorhouses and hospitals of the state. Especially if the state maintains them or gives money from the state treasury to help support them, they must be conducted in a way to please the state board.

A number of states also have passed *mothers' pension* laws. The principle of these is that the mother who has spent her time and energy raising her children should not be forced to go to the poorhouse or have her family broken up if she is unable to provide for them all properly. When a mother in such circumstances shows her need, she may get a small sum per week for herself and her small children. General

old-age pension laws and compulsory insurance acts, such as some European countries have, are frequently proposed in this country but have not yet gained much support here.

205. Caring for Dependents. — Before the beginning of the last century, both in the Old World and in America, very little attention was paid to the care and cure of the feeble-minded, insane, or otherwise helpless persons. Those whose condition made them more or less violent were put into the common jails or workhouses. Those who were



BLIND BOYS IN THE GYMNASIUM.

They can do almost everything that other boys can.

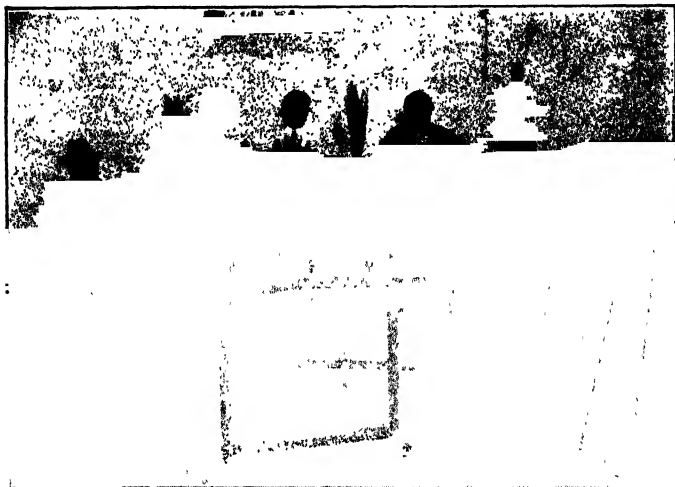
harmless were allowed to wander aimlessly about as village curiosities and the butt of all kinds of pranks, eking out a miserable existence by begging or by other precarious means.

But gradually municipalities began to care for them, each one doing what it pleased. As time went on the work spread to the county and from the county to the state. Now the greater part of the burden rests upon the state. Either the state owns institutions to care for the helpless ones or

appropriates money from its treasury to private institutions which are willing to put themselves under state inspection in return for the money.

Find out what proceedings are necessary to put an insane person in an asylum. If he claims to be sane, can he do anything to secure a release?

The dependents may be divided into the poor, the sick, and the defectives. The defectives in turn include the in-



INSANE PEOPLE AT WORK AT MATTEAWAN, NEW YORK.

These men seem to be able to make brooms that look usable.

sane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the blind, and the deaf and dumb.

The last two classes have only recently been cared for by the state, but wonders have been accomplished for them. Books with raised letters for the blind, and new methods of instruction for the deaf, have made it possible for some of them to obtain almost as much education and get almost as much pleasure out of life as their more fortunate brothers and sisters.

Some people have not realized that insane and feeble-minded people are not alike and need quite different treatment. The insane are those who once possessed at least ordinary natural mental powers, but through some affliction have lost them, wholly or partly. The feeble-minded never had normal mental ability. In this class are the idiot, who never knows any more than a two-year-old baby, the imbecile, whose talents are like those of children from three to seven years old, and the moron, whose brains never surpass those of the child of twelve.

Careful treatment can make something out of some of these defectives, if they are kept under proper guardianship, and insane people may regain their senses. But one thing we are sure of — the best place for most of the defectives is in homes or institutions where special care can be given to their needs and where they can be kept from harming others.

Studies made of the feeble-minded prove beyond question the curse of allowing them to live unguarded like ordinary persons. A Revolutionary soldier married twice, one wife being of normal powers and the other feeble-minded. Of 436 descendants from the normal wife, not one has been a defective or a criminal; but of 430 descendants from the feeble-minded wife, 143 are known to have been mentally defective and only 46 are known to have been normal.

In the schools and elsewhere tests invented by students of psychology are now frequently employed, and when a child is discovered who is in some degree a defective he is at once placed in the care of physicians and teachers who try to give him the special care which he requires. In the whole country it is estimated that there are 300,000 feeble-minded persons, not one-tenth of whom are at present properly cared for.

See if you can find out about the "Juke" family. What are the Binet-Simon tests? What is your state doing for the different types of dependents?

We are not responsible for our hereditary instincts and to a considerable degree we cannot dictate our environment. As a people we must see to it that social conditions are made as uplifting as possible. We must protect those who do right and restrain and reform those who do wrong. We must help the needy to help themselves and care for those who cannot care for themselves.

QUESTIONS

Distinguish the difference between sin, vice, and crime. Classify crimes with reference to degree. How many criminals are there in the country?

What are the principal causes of crime? Who deserves more blame when crime occurs, the criminal or the community in which he lives? What is the proper motive that should control us in dealing with lawbreakers? What are some of the ways by which we secure for the criminal the chance to lead a better life? If we are to prevent crime, what else than the criminal needs attention?

What kinds of institutions are criminals placed in? What should they be allowed or required to do while there? Explain different forms of convict labor. Which of these do you consider to be desirable? What can be done to help discharged prisoners? What are juvenile courts? What are the reasons for their existence?

How many paupers and poor people could be found in the United States to-day? How far-reaching is the problem of poverty? Classify the causes which produce it. As with crime, which is chiefly responsible, the individual or society in general? What causes are most common?

Distinguish between indoor and outdoor relief. Which is better? Why are organizations like the Associated Charities desirable? Describe the work of the settlement house. Can poverty be prevented? Why? What is a "poor farm"? How should the inmates be cared for? On what principle do "mothers' pension" acts rest? How far should state governments take any responsibility for the care of the poor?

Distinguish between delinquents, dependents, and defectives. What is the difference between the insane and the feeble-minded? Contrast the treatment formerly given to these people with that which they receive to-day. Why is it important that they should receive special care?

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Work of Thomas M. Osborne.

Resolved, that the honor system should be introduced in all institutions for criminals.

Judge Lindsey and the Juvenile Court. (If your community has one, study its work.)

A Modern Prison.

The Maintenance and Operation of the Poorhouse. (Study your own if possible.)

Resolved, that the moving-picture theater does more harm than good.

Experiences in Social Service Work.

The Training of the Blind, the Deaf, and the Dumb.

The Care of the Insane and the Feeble-minded.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Burch and Patterson: American Social Problems, Chapters 15-17.

Reed: Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 28-30.

Towne: Social Problems, Chapters 11-14.

Tufts: The Real Business of Living, Chapters 19-22, 27, 28.

CHAPTER XXX

EARNING A LIVING

No laws, however stringent, can make the idle industrious, the thriftless provident, or the drunken sober. — Samuel Smiles.

I hold every man a debtor to his profession ; from the which as men of course do seek to receive countenance and profits, so ought they of duty to endeavor themselves, by way of amends, to be a help and ornament thereto. — Bacon.

Those of us who do have the qualities that can bring success — and most of us have some — should realize our talent and prepare to utilize it wisely. The cost of living is always with us. What elements enter into it? Can we set definite standards of living which every one should seek to reach? Why is it important that every home should have a systematic method of using its money?

206. Preparing for Active Service. — “The average man must earn his own livelihood. He should be trained to do so, and he should be trained to feel that he occupies a contemptible position if he does not do so.” These words of Theodore Roosevelt are tremendously true. If you are not better fitted, when you get your diploma, to do the thing you are best qualified to do, somebody or something has failed to meet a great opportunity.

So strong has this feeling become among us that the federal government has undertaken to give considerable sums from its treasury to states which are willing to contribute an equal amount for the same purpose and maintain the necessary equipment. The Smith-Hughes law specifies that this money shall be used to promote “vocational education in agriculture and in the trades, industries, and domestic arts.”

Just one caution before we go further. While it is glorious to find one's heart throbbing with ambition to do something for himself and for mankind, let us not make the mistake of rushing out into service when we are poorly equipped for

doing *good* work. Just as a business man often finds it economy to spend money in order to get bigger returns later, so the boy or girl who gets all the school has to give will get far better rewards after he does start than the one who quits before he has finished his course and goes into a job out of which, unless he has exceptional natural talent, he can never hope to rise very far.

Is there any occupation which you would care to go into where you would regret having had a high school or college education? Make a list of 25 common occupations and classify them with regard to the value of high school or college training in preparation for them. Is its immediate use in making money the only thing worth considering in judging a subject or a course of study?

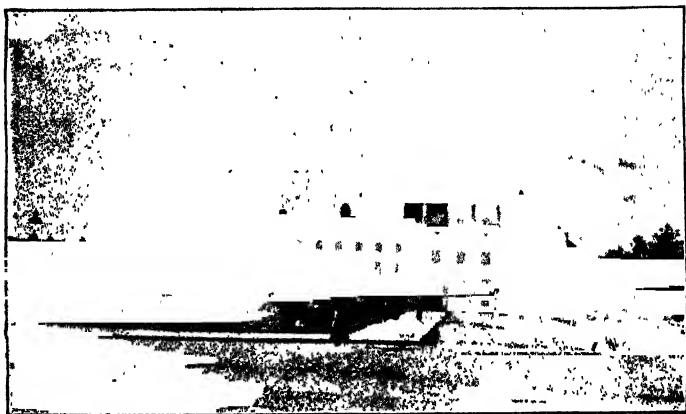


COLLEGE BOYS AT WORK.

Universities and colleges offer coöperative courses in which the students get practical experience in industries for which they are training.

It is not safe to speak too positively about the duty of choosing a vocation before one gets through school. Many a boy has felt that he would like nothing better than to drive a dump-cart or to call off the trains in a railway station. Even in the high school many a pupil finds that his entire ambition for life changes during the progress of his course.

In judging any occupation you must look at it from two distinct viewpoints: what has it to offer in qualities that interest you? and what qualifications have you to meet the necessities of the occupations? We are taking it for granted that you possess common honesty, truthfulness, reliability, and at least a reasonable ambition to amount to something in the world. The thing which you must do is to take careful account of your own personal capital and see what you can put into any work. Then you can approach the



THE TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

Most American cities would envy the possession of this institution.

vocations which have made some appeal to you and try to determine which one, *for you*, has most to offer in the way of profit, satisfaction, and service.

Take the list of 25 occupations which you made for this section and fill out a table that will show the extent to which each one presents or demands the following qualities: Social Position, Healthfulness, Salary, Advancement, Security, Interest, Ease, Physical Strength, Accuracy, Originality, Adaptability, Preparation. Classify your own qualities with reference to each of the last seven points. Then compare your personal classification with the list of occupations and see how many of them you think you are fitted for or would care to engage in. In grading the different points you can use the

words "High," "Moderate," and "Low," or grade them still more minutely if you wish.

In your community what occupations offer the most or the best opportunities to one who is just starting to earn his own living? Do the majority of young people in your community seem satisfied to settle down there, or do they want to go somewhere else? Why?

Take the list of occupations which we have already studied. Add, if necessary, eight or ten which women particularly enter, and judge them with reference to their suitability for women. If you are a girl, make personal application also. Should training in home-making form a part of every girl's education?

207. Comparative Cost of Living. — All classes of people spend very much more than they did in the middle of the last century. Our wants are more numerous. We seek more variety and change in our daily life, and wish people to do things for us which once everybody expected to do for himself. Vacations and delivery wagons were once almost unknown.



A HEALTHFUL OCCUPATION.

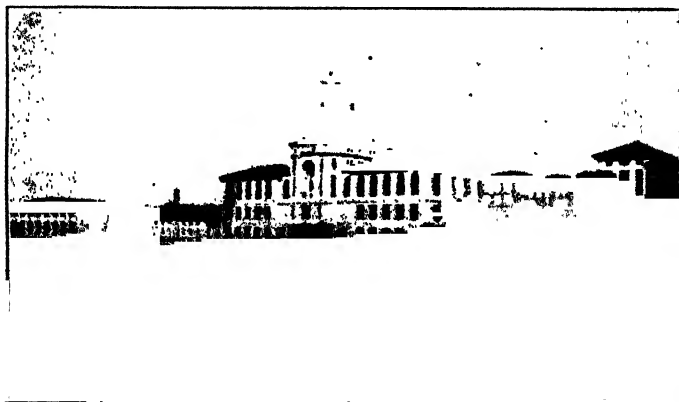
Why don't more native Americans like this sort of work?

Almost every one realizes, too, that the cost of living in the country is considerably less than in the city. Many of the staple articles of food, such as flour, meat, and all kinds of package goods and canned goods, cost no less in the country, but the people raise more of their own food products. Milk can be bought directly from the man who owns the cow,

and butter, eggs, and cheese are for the same reason less expensive.

Besides, there is less expense for showy or fashionable clothes in order to keep up with somebody else. Bargain sales, to get people to buy what they do not need, a nickel or more for carfare every time you go any distance, expensive theaters or frequent attendance at cheap ones — these are missing from the country man's expense bill, to his decided advantage.

There is a difference between places, too. Rents in New York and Pittsburgh are noticeably higher than in Phila-



CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, PITTSBURGH.

This institute was established purposely for offering practical training in the skilled trades and technical professions.

delphia or Baltimore. In the latter cities garden products and other articles for the table come from nearer farms, and so cost less. Wherever the total amount of money in the community is great, the price of almost everything will be higher than elsewhere, even though that amount be not at all evenly distributed. Study your own community and see whether it has any peculiarities which will make you pay more or less to live there than somewhere else. Almost every place has some distinctive quality or condition.

208. High Prices, Their Cause and Effect. — Apart from the economic overturn caused by the Great War, the prices of practically everything have risen in less than twenty years from fifteen per cent to over one hundred per cent in all the leading civilized nations. It is not a peculiarly American problem, though the rise is more marked in the United States and Canada than in Europe. What is the reason for it? Some one says, the middleman. Another says, the labor



TRAINING FOR GIRLS IN HOME-MAKING.

unions have forced high wages and the trusts have forced up the prices of their products. Still another urges speculation and extravagant living. Another insists that the tariff is to blame. Others, who think they look more deeply into the matter, declare that the two causes which seem to be most positively at work are the exhausting of natural resources and the increase in the supply of gold.

The price of everything is simply the value that we put on it in exchange for gold, since we have made gold the standard of our money system. If there is enough of a commodity

in existence to give everybody all he wants, no one will have to give anything in exchange for it. But if everybody would like to have a commodity of which the available stock is small, those who can or will give the most in exchange for it are the ones who are going to get it.

We can easily see that the wasting of our natural resources and the reduction in the relative supply of them cannot help causing prices to rise for the commodities which depend directly on them. Since the amount of gold in the world has materially increased in recent years, more of it will be required in exchange for a given amount of something else. The ordinary purchaser will not bother about figuring it out that way, but he gets the result in the higher price he pays.

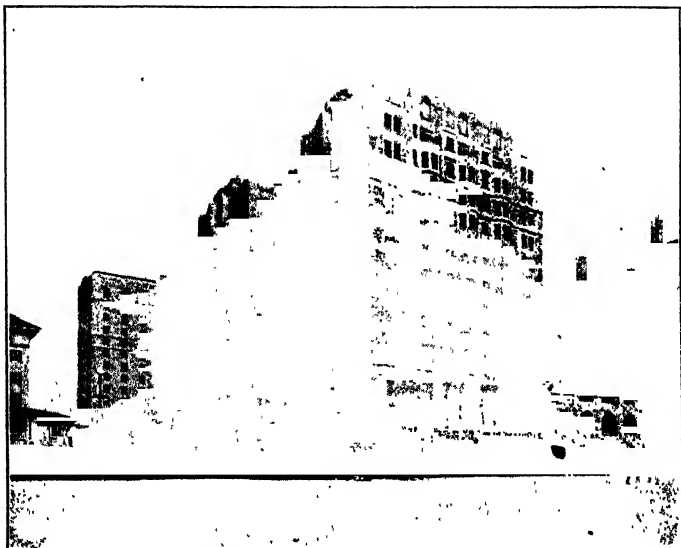
Are high prices necessarily an evil? The common man would say "Yes" with haste and fervency. Indirectly good may come, however, for social improvements and readjustments of wages and the like more often accompany a period of high prices than any other time. If wages increase in anything like a corresponding proportion, the earner has more to spend, and can spend it for more different things. Wages do increase when periods of high prices are prolonged, but the wage increase tags along behind the rise in prices, and seldom is as great in proportion.

Yet it appears that the average laboring man of American family lives better than ever before, and is more independent. The persons whose salaries are fixed are more subject to inconvenience from a rise in prices than any others in the community. The man who works by the day is usually in a far better position to ask and receive an increase than the one who is paid by the month or the year. Those who have a fixed income from bonds and similar investments also have to try to make it cover a great deal more ground, and it will not always stand the strain.

Take several of the most common occupations in your neighborhood and set a fair average on the probable yearly income of the persons engaged in each of those occupations. When you average

them together, what figure do you get as the probable figure for the average income of a family in your neighborhood? Is your neighborhood likely to show a higher or lower rate than other communities or cities?

209. Standards of Living. — What ought every family to be able to have in return for its labor? In other words, what is the standard of living which every family ought to main-



THE AMBASSADOR HOTEL, ATLANTIC CITY.

There is no other reason for Atlantic City than the fame it has acquired as a pleasure resort. Think what enormous sums of money must be spent for pleasure and supposed recreation if palaces like this are required to meet the demands of pleasure seekers.

tain? What proportion of the necessities and comforts of life are its members able to enjoy? We may reasonably expect a family whose members constantly have to appear before the public in one way or another and who have a wide circle of prominent acquaintances to maintain a higher standard than others, but there are some things that every family ought to have.

Food in sufficient amount and variety to maintain good health ; clothing to the same degree, and neatly kept ; housing, to the same extent, with provision for a real home life ; savings for doctor's bills, insurance or protection against the inevitable " rainy day " ; some little amount for recreation, culture, and the like — surely it is not too much to wish that every family in the land should be provided with all these. Can it be done ?

Investigators in New York and other cities have been convinced that not less than \$2000 a year is generally needed to keep a family of five supplied with the elements of a decent living. Five is the average membership of a family, the country over. Compare this statement with your estimate of the income of the average family, and see what your conclusion is. As for savings, how many families with incomes under \$2000 can hope to save anything ?

210. The Family Budget. — The budget plan of handling one's income is strongly recommended by those who have given special thought to the matter of economy, though it is more talked about than practiced. It is universally admitted that well-managed governments must have carefully planned budgets. After all, is there any difference between a government's and a family's finances, except in the amount of money to be handled ?

At the first of the month or year, or some other regular period, a careful estimate can be made of the necessary and desirable expenses for the month. Then if this estimate is adhered to, there can be no doubt where all the money goes. Altogether too often a family's income is spent recklessly, with no thought of what they will live on when all the money has been used. Too many families live high for two weeks and then starve themselves for the rest of the month. Others have everything charged that they buy and simply take a chance that when the bills come in the first of the month they will not be bigger than the monthly pay-checks.

Some careful investigators have decided that the ideal

division of the expense account of the family of ordinary means is as follows: 30 per cent for food, 20 per cent for household expenses, 10 per cent for running expenses such as heat, light, laundry, and new furniture, 15 per cent for clothes, and 25 per cent for the higher life — education, recreation, church, charity, and the like. Probably few families could tell with exactness how much of their income goes for each of these items. This bad management of the home is the chief reason why many families are bankrupt to-day and are always complaining about the high cost of living. Only when families use common sense and buy without waste can their expenses be controlled. There is no better place than the home to apply the arithmetic that is taught in the school. "Economy" in the old Greek sense of the word actually meant "home management."

How many families that you know of keep a budget? Are there any families who could not follow this plan? How may it help to keep down the cost of living? In case a family's income is small, which of the items mentioned above are likely to be cut first?

How much does the ordinary high school or college boy or girl know about the expenses of his or her family? Should people of those ages know fully the financial conditions of the family? Is it customary or right for children to think of the father as a walking check-book?

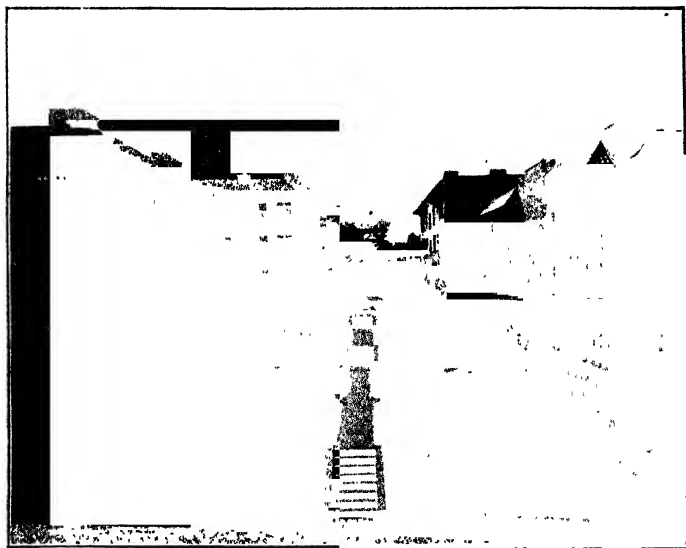
Make a detailed estimate of the expenses necessary to clothe and feed a family of five for a year in moderate comfort. Is this more or less than you and your family spend? From what you have observed or heard, do you think the average family has an income as large as you have estimated to be necessary?

The government can do very little in comparison with individual common sense and judgment in settling the problem of the cost of living for any special family. It can investigate and punish when speculators break the laws in regard to restraint of trade or when dealers lie about the quality of goods they sell. But families that use judgment about the things they buy, that try to avoid waste, and that refuse to buy when prices are unreasonable, can largely con-

trol their own expense accounts. When we have done that, and still the things we must have are going out of reach, we may rightly expect the government to protect itself and its citizens by direct interference.

What forms of savings are most desirable for the ordinary family? Is it desirable that every family should carry life insurance? Point out instances where unnecessary expenses could be avoided by your own family or those of your acquaintance.

211. Owners and Renters. — It makes a difference, too, *where* we live. Homes can be pleasanter and happier in



A NEW KIND OF APARTMENTS.

The builder of these dwellings tried to make the surroundings attractive, even if he does charge high rents.

some surroundings than others. A dirty, tumble-down dwelling, surrounded by a still dirtier court or street and framed on both sides by other dwellings of the same kind, could not possibly create the same attraction for its inmates that they would feel for a clean, comfortable dwelling-

place, be it large or small, in a neighborhood where the air is pure, and there are some flowers and grass to add a little of nature's beauty to the place. If, besides, dozens of people are crowded into one dingy, filthy dwelling, conditions become still worse. Then a family cannot live a real family life.

Even a big apartment house, no matter how richly furnished may be its rooms and how many janitors and elevators may help to make the place clean and convenient, can hardly seem like a real home for most people. Who could develop much love for Apartment No. 8 on the sixth floor of 408 West 130th Street! The phrase does not sound like a home and hardly any stretch of the imagination can make it so. Yet apartments and duplexes house more and more each year of the people in our large cities.

It usually makes a difference, also, whether people own the place where they live. Those who own feel a personal interest in the spot. They take some pride in its looks. It means something to them to keep the plumbing in repair and the outside painted. The renter is not thinking so much of ways to make his dwelling-place more attractive as he would if it were the location where he is to spend his life permanently. When he wants a change he has to call upon the landlord. If the landlord is not in a generous frame of mind, the change does not come, and at best it will come at the landlord's convenience. Moving day is a sort of annual festival to some families.

Unfortunately, more and more people are content each year to let somebody else provide them a place to live. The census of 1920 found in this country 24,000,000 families. Of these 13,000,000 lived in rented dwellings. More than half of the people of the United States depend upon somebody else to provide them a place to live! No wonder rents are high and getting higher. New York has the lowest record of dwellings owned by their occupants of any city in the country. Less than 10 per cent of the people of Man-

hattan Island own the places where they live. Some other cities generally farther west, such as Detroit, Indianapolis, and Los Angeles, claim that 40 per cent of their people own their dwellings. For large cities that is an excellent record.

What people, if any, should rent rather than own? What is your community's record in regard to house-owning? If you can work it out without advertising any family's private business, find how your own class stands on the matter, and why.

This problem of what our future nation-builders shall do is particularly difficult because it cannot be regulated by any strict rules; personal talents, personal initiative, and appropriate training all combine to tell the story of human attainment. Standards of living are as widely different as the means of supporting them. It is impossible for a large percentage of folks to live as they desire, and yet a definite regulation of income and expenditures might produce a contented home life, to a degree much more common than usually prevails.

QUESTIONS

Compare the cost of living now and fifty years or more ago. Compare the cost in country and city. Why should there be any difference between communities? What explanations can you give for the increasing cost of commodities? What relation exists, if any, between wages and the prices of goods? Can any good result from a period of general high prices?

Should all families undertake to live equally well? What items ought every family to be able to supply to its members? How large an income is necessary to make this possible? What proportion of family incomes commonly goes for the main items in the family budget?

What reforms might many families undertake which would better their standard of living? Where does the fault rest when so many families have hard work to manage their finances? When, if at all, is it the business of the government to take a hand in regulating the cost of living?

Discuss the comparative merits of owning and renting.

To what extent should a pupil make up his mind in school about his life career? Why should every boy and girl give attention to this topic? What are the qualities demanded for success in any worth-while fields of human activity?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Definite studies of special occupations concerning which the members of the class can get reliable advice may profitably form a considerable part of the research work done in connection with this chapter, if the class has no other opportunity in its school course for a study of *vocations*. Concrete statements of the pupils' own views and notions will do more to show where counsel is needed than many pages of statistics and tables which might be given in this text.

The Business Girl.

Coöperative Programs of School and Business.

The New Antioch College.

Earning Something on the Side.

How I Would Undertake to Get a Position.

Blind-Alley Jobs.

What It Cost to Live When Father Was a Boy.

Grandmother's Employments and Amusements.

Our Family Budget.

What to Do with Our Savings.

Life Insurance: Its Forms and Importance.

The Cost of the Tobacco Habit.

Owners and Renters in Our Community.

How Our Government Could Save Money.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Burch: American Economic Life, Chapters 1-7.

Thompson: Elementary Economics, Chapters 3, 4.

Lessons in Community and National Life, A-15, C-26, A-10, B-23.

Carver: Elementary Economics, Chapters 38-42.

Straus: History of the Thrift Movement.

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Giles: Vocational Civics.

Gowin, Wheatley and Brewer: Occupations.

Carlton: Elementary Economics, Chapters 1-4.

Marshall and Lyon: Our Economic Organization, Chapters 1, 8.

Weaver: Profitable Vocations for Girls.

Weaver and Byler: Profitable Vocations for Boys.

CHAPTER XXXI

MORAL AND SPIRITUAL IDEALS

The Puritan did not stop to think; he recognized God in his soul and acted. — Phillips.

The low moral standards supposed to be prevalent have always been a topic of interest in any nation's gossip. Is our nation forsaking its standards of religion and decency? Are American ideals of home life being ruined? Or are moral reforms easier to accomplish than formerly? What notable moral gains have occurred? On what, after all, do moral and spiritual standards depend?

212. "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation." — We have spent a great deal of time discussing material things — land, business, office holders, highway construction — but what are these material things worth if we cannot depend on our neighbor to respect our rights or cannot trust our neighbor's word? Men have seemed to rise to power on the steps of broken promises; they have brought nations under their feet by aggressive wickedness. But the woe pronounced against the king who founded a city in blood was meant for our day or any other day as well as for the day of the ancient prophet.

We, as a people, want to be led by good men. No political party will hope to elect to high office a notoriously immoral man. No man may hope to be a hero to the whole American people, unless he leads them in striving for lofty ideals or offers in his own life an example of noble character. After all, nobility of character and a lofty standard of honor furnish the only sure basis of success. Fortunes built upon fraud may disappear by the progress of times. A social life built on immoral foundations will surely collapse.

213. Personal Vices. — Some people insist on doing things which they know are not good for them. Sometimes, indeed, they assert that they can stop when they wish. But usually we notice that they do not stop. Sometimes a habit gets hold of a person so firmly that he cannot break away from it no matter how hard he tries. People injure their health by drinking liquor, by taking drugs, or “dope,” and by other kinds of personal conduct which are not fit to describe here. People risk their money in lotteries and gambling devices of various kinds, and by betting on horse races, baseball games, and other forms of amusement.

Now is this a matter with which the government should concern itself? Some people insist that it is really a question of personal liberty and that they have a right to do as they please even if they harm themselves in doing so. But our courts, both state and national, have consistently ruled that the police power of the state extends far enough to cover any sort of personal conduct that affects the health, property, or general well-being of the individual citizen as well as of others who may be associated with the state. We therefore have our laws against gambling and betting, against lotteries and games of chance. The injury suffered by indulgence in these various vices does not stop with the person who commits them. His own ill-health, the loss of his earnings, the reputation he acquires, are reflected on his family and they suffer personally and socially.

In recent years we have become much alarmed by a noticeable increase in the use of narcotic drugs. Other countries than our own have witnessed the same tendency in their citizens. In 1913 Congress passed the Harrison Act for the purpose of suppressing the trade in harmful drugs and of preventing the use of them except on the prescription of a physician. This law has accomplished considerable good, but to make the movement effective we need to co-operate with the other countries of the world in eliminating this most dangerous vice. A commission under the League

of Nations is endeavoring to get rid of the traffic in dangerous drugs.

214. The Liquor Business. — The most difficult of all dangerous personal habits to deal with has been indulgence in intoxicating liquor. We used to spend from three to four times as much per year for liquor as we spent on our schools. All this time the use of liquor increased the cost of jails, poorhouses, insane asylums, and other such institutions, but somehow many people would not realize what the liquor business was costing us. Especially if the government received revenue from licensed saloons, the mistaken notion that this license money helped out the government's treasury caused people who would otherwise not have tolerated the traffic to consent to its existence.

Four different methods for the control or restriction of the liquor business have been tried in this country :

(1) The *dispensary system* required the government to take charge of the selling of liquor and to dispose of it in places where no special features, such as music or the furnishing of meals, would help to attract people.

(2) The *license system* permitted the sale of liquor legally only by those who have a fee for the privilege.

(3) Under *local option* a town, city, or county was allowed to decide by popular vote whether saloons should be licensed within its limits.

(4) *State prohibition*, undertaken first by the state of Maine, forbade the sale of liquor anywhere within the state.

It has been found all through the history of the prohibition movement that stronger support for the idea was obtained in the rural districts than in the cities. Can you give any explanation for this fact?

The Great War finally brought the question to a head. As a war measure, Congress passed an act which was to go into effect July, 1919, forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquor. It had previously forbidden the use of grain in distilled liquors and beer. In December, 1917, it proposed,

by the necessary two-thirds vote, the Eighteenth Amendment. This forbade the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes in the United States and "all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof." The amendment carried a provision that it must be ratified within seven years or it would be invalid. The state legislatures responded with unexpected haste. In January, 1919, the 36th state ratified, and one year later the amendment went into effect.

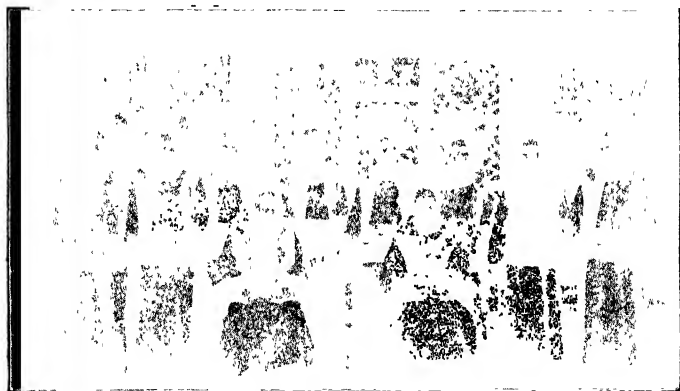
It was necessary, however, to make a new law for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. Probably this was not done soon enough. The so-called Volstead Act was passed by Congress in the fall of 1919. This law accepted the principle that liquor containing one-half of one per cent of alcohol should be considered intoxicating. It also set up a system of enforcement officers under the general oversight of a prohibition commissioner.

215. Public Opinion and Law Enforcement. — The enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act has caused a great deal of discussion. The amendment says that Congress and the states have concurrent power to enforce it, on the supposition that both state and national officers would work together. In some cities and states, however, the local officers have failed to do very much toward enforcement. As in the case of every reform, there came a period when some people deliberately undertook to defy the law by manufacturing liquor and selling it secretly.

Yet, after all, no law was ever perfectly enforced. We have no right to expect that a new public policy, especially one which affects the personal habits of a considerable number of people, would immediately go into operation without some sort of opposition. After fifty years' time, some of the unpleasant facts connected with the abolition of slavery still perplex us. Surely it is too much to expect that all the tangles connected with the liquor business and its abolition can be finally straightened out in a few years. There seems

to be no doubt that poverty has been lessened already, savings bank deposits have increased, arrests for drunkenness and crime have diminished.

The United States is the first great nation of the world to attempt this measure of self-discipline. A patriotic citizen, no matter what his own personal habits have been, will, when a new policy is adopted at the plain demand of a majority of the people, abide by the decision at least long enough to give the new policy a fair trial. Though he may



MANCHURIAN LADIES.

They dress in accordance with the customs of their country. Do you see any merit in their costumes as compared with those that prevail among us?

think a law is unwise, he has no right to show his disapproval of it by defying it and encouraging other people to do so.

Back of every reform movement, every choice of a public official, every policy of law-making or law-enforcement, is the mighty force of public opinion. You cannot see it, but it is none the less real. No matter what an individual thinks about any one topic or how widely people may disagree on different questions, what the majority think about any theme must be accepted as public opinion as far as that topic is concerned. How necessary then that public opinion should be intelligent! How hard it is for a good public officer to

work for the people's welfare if they do not understand his motives and policies!

Do you know of any laws that are virtually "dead letters" because public opinion does not demand their enforcement?

You and I and the other people in the community and the nation are collectively the public. Our opinions are a kind of composite of the tendencies which were born in us and the things which we hear, see, and read. If I am a Republican just because my father was, if I hear the views of no one except those whom my daily business brings in touch with me, if I read only one newspaper, and a partisan one at that, it is quite possible that my opinion will be narrow and prejudiced. We owe our fellow men a better service than that, and have a right to ask something better of them.

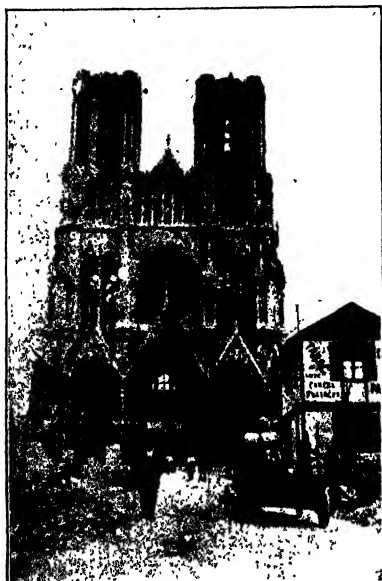
Every church, every club, every school, every newspaper, ought to give opportunity for a fair understanding not only of the views of those who are responsible for its management, but of the honest opinions of those who disagree. How far many of these organizations fall short of doing the service which they might render! And how less intelligent public opinion must be on this account!

Why is it that newspapers sometimes do not tell all the news or do not tell it correctly? What kind of newspapers and magazines does your family read? How far is your opinion influenced by what you read? by custom or habit?

What are the principal means by which public opinion can be influenced? How much can the schools do to create a sound public opinion? Does the teaching of civics in the schools with which you are acquainted accomplish all that it should?

216. Religion in American Life. — It is one of the most cherished principles of American government that the State should in no way whatever force a man to accept any particular creed or support any particular church or interfere in any way with his religious beliefs. This doctrine was almost revolutionary when Roger Williams first proclaimed it in the old Massachusetts Bay Colony. They exiled him for it, and

thus gave Rhode Island the opportunity and glory of establishing that principle in the world. But now our national Constitution declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the



THE RHEIMS CATHEDRAL, 1923.

Imposing in its war-scarred condition! Yet the French, as Americans too often do, have allowed cheap shops partly to spoil the view from the front.

community clean, wholesome, orderly, and happy. Most states recognize the value of religious institutions by exempting from taxation any property owned by them. There are people who say that this custom violates the principle of complete separation of Church and State, but if all churches are treated alike it is hard to see where any harm is done.

The number of different denominations is large. Much unnecessary ill-feeling has resulted because some have not

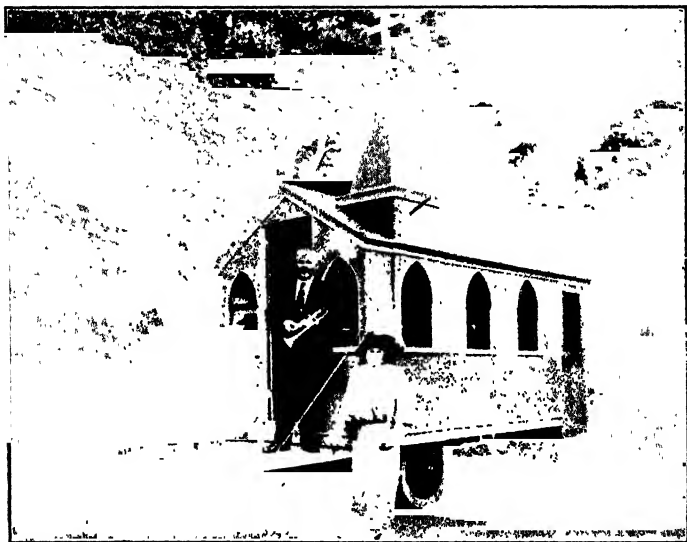
free exercise thereof," and every state adheres to the same doctrine and practice.

In what countries does the government still help to support any church? Is free worship permitted to other churches?

On this account it is difficult for a community to do anything directly to assist religious institutions. Yet religion has had a most powerful influence in the life of our nation. Churches, Sunday schools, Y. M. C. A.'s, K. of C.'s, and the like, entirely apart from their distinctly "spiritual" or theological teaching, contribute wonderfully toward making any com-

realized that others could hold different views and still be as sincere and well-meaning as themselves. It is usually the case, too, that when denominational differences are introduced into political campaigns, the results are very unpleasant. In time of war men of all faiths have stood loyally by the cause of our country. It will be well if we can have the same coöperation and mutual respect in time of peace.

The observance of Sunday is one cause of occasional disagreement. In the West most places of amusement are "wide



THE LITTLE CHURCH ON WHEELS.

This unique affair was constructed for home missionary work in parks and on street corners.

open" on Sunday, but in the East there is still a strong feeling that Sunday should be observed more quietly than other days, that enterprises carried on solely for amusement and profit should not be open, and that the attitude of the government should encourage the use of the day for worship and rest rather than for other purposes.

217. Religious Instruction. — Another topic for disagreement is the teaching of religion or morals in the schools. Many people think that these must be taught in the schools if they are taught anywhere. A great many children do not go to any Sunday school, and many families pay little attention at home to these matters.

It is hard, however, to work out any code of instruction which will suit everybody. Christians and Jews, Catholics and Protestants, interpret certain portions of the Bible differently, and one group is inclined to think that some particular teaching is fundamentally important which the other does not consider in the same light.

Some schools allow a part of the regular school hours to be used by priests or ministers to give religious instruction to children connected with their own denominations. In some states credit is given for properly attested Bible study done outside the school. Several states have laws requiring the reading of a certain number of verses of the Bible each day in school, but the courts in a few states have ruled that the Bible is a sectarian book and must therefore not be taught or read publicly in the schools.

The need of sound and strong moral instruction is clear. But whether the public schools can safely do anything more than this, or whether we must leave strictly religious teaching to the church and the home, is a question which should not be answered on the basis of religious partisanship. Our sole purpose should be to establish the highest ideals of life and conduct without denying to any citizen absolute freedom of religious belief.

218. The American Home. — The school and church set up for us our standards of thought and living, but the place where we have the best chance to test them in practice, if we do it anywhere, is in the home. The home is the foundation of the social life of any country. When it decays the nation has begun to fall.

We sometimes wonder whether we care as much for our

homes as people did at one time. Surely we do not spend as much time there. It is very true that there is no need of assuming that because people go out more than they used to they give less thought to their home life. But when the members of the families never are satisfied at home we may be sure that something is wrong.

Family life ought to be the finest of all associations. Too often we find that it becomes only a temporary affair. The



CHRISTMAS MORNING.

Do you suppose the boy realizes what his home means to him?

constant increase in the number of divorces in this country is one of the hardest facts for the optimist to answer. Whatever our ambition or ideals may be, let us not forget the necessity of keeping home life noble and worthy, and make the home the center of all our interests. As we go about our daily duties in school and out, at work or at play, we ought never to forget that most of us are being prepared some day to have charge of homes of our own.

The moral and spiritual ideals of a nation must be right or it will perish. America is a free country. This fact may demand that we should respect the rights of others and sometimes restrain personal ideas to conform to community sentiment and welfare, as well as to insist upon having our own way. Religion — the real thing, not the denominational narrow-mindedness which we sometimes see — is vital to a nation. We hate to believe that the world is growing worse morally or spiritually, and must not let it do so.

QUESTIONS

Show how right conduct and national prosperity are related. What are some of the personal habits that cause trouble and loss to those who engage in them? Why do they indulge in such things? What right has the government to interfere with an individual's personal conduct? What has been done to suppress gambling? the use of narcotic drugs?

What change do we observe in connection with the use of liquor in comparing customs of a century ago and to-day? What are some of the evil effects from indulgence in the drink habit? Explain the methods used to regulate or control the sale of liquor prior to 1920. What advantages or disadvantages do you notice in connection with each one? Under what circumstances was the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution adopted? Why was the Volstead Act necessary? State its principal provisions. What difficulties have arisen in connection with its enforcement? What is the duty of a good citizen with reference to this law or any other?

What is public opinion? What influences make you think the way you do about public questions? What can you do now to help your country? What is your responsibility for its future?

What effect do religious organizations have upon a community? What is the policy of our governments toward individual religious beliefs and toward religious organizations? Is ill feeling among religious denominations necessary?

What are the main facts in regard to the observance of Sunday? Should religion and morals be taught in the public schools? State the main arguments for and against the proposition. What are the laws or customs in your state or community in regard to Bible reading in the schools?

Show the importance of fine home life to a nation.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Effect of the Great War on the Liquor Business.
The Anti-Saloon League.

The Eighteenth Amendment.

What Our Community Is Doing for the Physical, Mental, and Moral Uplift of Its People.

The Churches of —.

What My Church Believes In. (It would be enlightening to have each member of the class write on this subject and to have the best statement for each denomination read by the teacher without giving the name of the author. This topic should be omitted, however, if the teacher thinks it would lead to unpleasant argument, or if state laws forbid the discussion of religious doctrine.)

Church Service in Colonial Days.

The History of the Sunday School.

My Ideal of a "Home-Nest."

Homes of Famous Men and Women.

What Can I Do to Make My Home Ideal?

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Lessons in Community and National Life, B-20, C-20.

Gillette: Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 17.

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Ross: What is America? Chapter 3.

Burch and Patterson: American Social Problems, Chapters 5, 22, 24.

CHAPTER XXXII

EFFORTS FOR A BETTER SOCIETY

*Yet each a part, and none the whole,
But all together form the soul.—Cooke.*

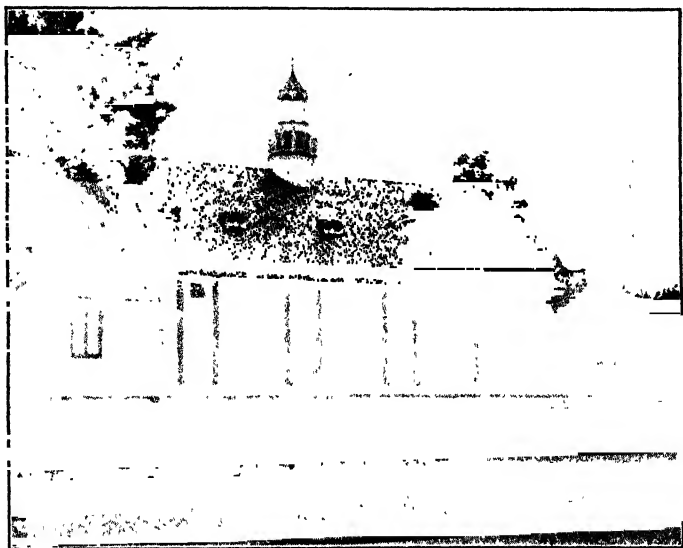
After all, no matter how we may take up the problems of our United States, we always have before us the duty of making it a finer country to live in. What is your vision of a better United States? How can we progress toward such a condition? What are the demands of some present-day social reformers? What is the reason for some of the "new" ideas of society? How can you help to make the United States the best and greatest nation in the world?

219. **The Method of Progress.** — Very few great changes in history which were permanent came through a sudden outburst or violent change. Of course there are notable events which brought a situation to a climax, but they did not occur out of nothing. Advancement has been wrought by a steady evolution. Always there are two forces at work, progress and conservatism. One says, "Things are not what they ought to be. Let's make them better. Nothing venture, nothing have." The other says, "It's better to be safe than to be sorry. Let well enough alone." And the two forces pull this way and that, generally causing the movement of society to go outside of the path where either force alone would take it.

On the side of the conservative, the "stand-patter," are usually lined up the people who have "arrived," the old families, the business power, all whose activity and thought is centered on the welfare of their "vested interests" and whose love for old times and old ways are strong. These feel that they have much to lose by a change.

With the progressive — the radical, his opponents would call him — will generally be found the people who are struggling for a better place in business or society, the pioneer element, the new communities, the men and women who think much of the needs of their fellow men, those who care more for human rights than for the rights of property, as well as those who have little to lose by any change that could take place.

It is a bad policy either to follow custom because it is custom and it would be a bother to make a change, or to go to



A COMMUNITY MEMORIAL BUILDING.

This building serves a variety of purposes of a social nature for the citizens of this Massachusetts neighborhood.

the other extreme in following the crowd or yielding to a wave of passion as does the mob when some one yells, "Lynch him." Keep an open mind, ready to take hold of anything good, no matter who proposes it. Do not be afraid of a thing merely because it is new, for everything must be tried

first by somebody, but be sure that the principles are sound on which the proposed new idea is based. If it is a step in the right direction, take it unhesitatingly, no matter if it hurts a little somewhere. Progress so gained is likely to be solid, far-reaching, and lasting.

220. Coöperative Movements. — In preaching the idea that "competition is the life of trade" we have too often stressed the element of rivalry in industrial relations. If every man works against his neighbor, all, too often, feel inclined to let everybody take care of himself, and give very little attention to the one who falls by the wayside in the struggle. We need more of the *coöperative* spirit in meeting our economic needs, as well as settling our social obligations.

As a means of reducing the cost of living, several forms of coöperative stores have been tried in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe with much success, both for producing and for purchasing common commodities. Somehow Americans find the country too large or lack the coöperative spirit necessary to make these things work here. They do exist, of course, but not in great numbers. If several could combine to buy things at wholesale prices and distribute the saving among the whole group, it would seem to be worth the trouble and expense of maintaining a store for the benefit of the group.

But the Larkin Soap Company's premium business and the immense catalogues of Sears, Roebuck & Company and other "mail-order" houses seem to appeal more to those whom we might hope to interest in coöperative ventures. The "chain stores," like the United Cigar Stores, the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, and Woolworth's "five and ten" establishments gratify people's craze for low prices, and make the prospect of the coöperative store sometimes dubious.

Business coöperation is, therefore, in the United States, limited. A number of dairies and butter-making concerns are operating successfully on this principle. The California Fruit Growers' Exchange is a coöperative organization for

marketing the products of the "ranches" of its members. But the whole number of such activities is not great.

However, there are mutual fire insurance companies which reduce the cost of insurance considerably by dividing it among their members in proportion to actual cost, rather than let some outsiders make a profit in it. Building and loan associations, which issue stock and let their members borrow money in accordance with the number of shares that they hold, have been very helpful in enabling people to pay for a house by installments and thus become property owners, when otherwise they could not have done so.

Quite a number of fraternal orders have been formed for the purpose of paying sick, accident, and death benefits, but many states regard them as unsound financially and pass laws which show much more favor to private insurance companies.

Why are the country storekeeper and the small city grocer so violently opposed to the "mail-order" house and the "chain store"? Are they justified in their opposition?

221. Socialism. — One growing class demands much more radical changes than government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones. This is the Socialist group. The Socialist believes that our industrial system is unsound. Capital, he says, is the result of the combined activities of the men and women who work. He claims that private ownership of capital, private greed, private cruelty, are to blame for the injustice, poverty, and misery of the world.

Now if all industry were operated by the state in the interest of all the workers, he thinks, every one could receive what he earns instead of what somebody else doles out to him. The bitterness and waste of competition would be removed, and each worker could be assigned to the work for which he is best fitted. In short, the Socialist wants the state to take control of everything that concerns the industrial or social well-being of the people.

Numerous objections are brought up by the opponents of Socialism. Would not the management of such an enormous range of activities require more than human intelligence and power? Could any system remove injustice, poverty, and misery unless the Golden Rule were practiced by everybody? And would not *any* system work if every person did practice the Golden Rule? As long as there are idle, incompetent, dishonest people can you hope to make a socialistic state a success?

There are different kinds of people who call themselves Socialists. By all means, let us distinguish between the intelligent Socialist thinkers who are striving to bring about a better day for humanity, and the discontented people who call themselves Socialists but who do not understand their own creed. The real Socialist does not advocate dividing up all the money equally — he knows that it would not stay equally divided five minutes. Neither is he an anarchist — the anarchist wants all organized government removed, but the Socialist wants the state to be all-important.

Possibly the socialist theories will be fully put into practice only in the very remote future, if ever. But the fundamental idea of Socialism, greater activity by the state in the interest of all its citizens, is becoming every year more common — more necessary. We do some things now as a matter of course which only a few years ago were either despised or violently attacked on the ground that they were “socialistic.”

222. Very Radical Ideas. — Much more extreme than the Socialist is the fellow who wants to overturn our whole government. He does not talk so much about securing justice for everybody as about transferring the control of everything over to what he calls the masses. By this word he usually means the manual laborers, peasant farmers, and in fact that group in any community that has never possessed leadership in politics or anything else.

The I. W. W. — the “Industrial Workers of the World” — insist that the “workers” must be put in control of every-

thing. They want to abolish private ownership of property and have everything under the direct control of the state. This is one form of *communism*, a word that signifies owning all things in common.

We have seen one attempt to set this theory in practice. A group calling themselves Bolsheviks got control of affairs during the latter part of the Great War in Russia, and have kept themselves in power since that time. They have found it impossible to keep their theory fully in operation, and have had to go back to the use of many of the features of the “capitalism” which they seem to hate.

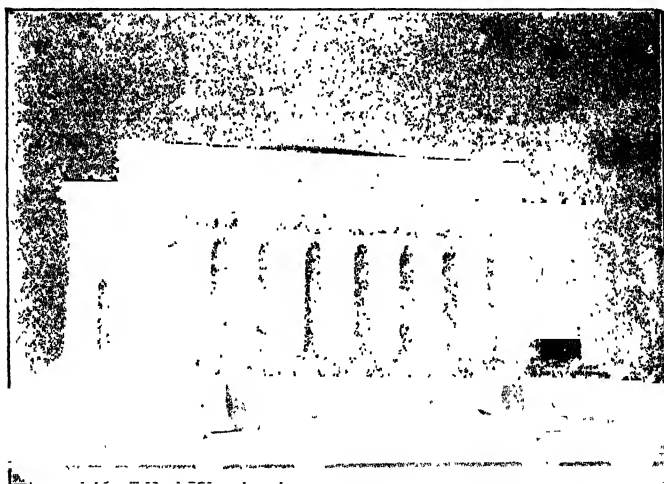
The whole theory of communism rests on the supposition that men can be made to be satisfied with a system of things under which the government determines how all industries shall be operated, and how much right a person may have over his own house. But we have not all reached the point where everybody has confidence in everybody else, and until we do such attempts are not feasible.

Yet too much of the cause of such revolutionary ideas is found in part in the conduct of the rich men and other people who have not cared what happened as long as they got what they wanted. Selfishness on the part of the wealthy people, disregard for the well-being of the masses, and the general sense of discontent on the part of a great many who work hard without getting much return — all these things offer an excuse for the agitators, who try to stir up trouble and set one class in the community against another. If we have made a place for ourselves in the group of successful people, we must not allow our success to cause us to ignore the rights of others. To do that would encourage the very thing that might overthrow our own contentment and happiness, even if we were not influenced by any motive except our own selfish prosperity. And surely none of us will be satisfied with that as our sole ambition in life.

223. “Your United States.” — In building this country you boys and girls, young men and women, have a part even

now, and a still greater part will be yours in the years to come. What you think even now goes out into your homes and into the community at large. Even now you can serve your community in numberless ways and help make it better. School is a part of life, not a little world by itself, and the thoughts and habits of to-day may turn the whole course of the future.

A noted Englishman who visited this country wrote a book after making his journey, which he called "Your United



THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON.

This stately building was erected in memory of one of America's greatest heroes.

States." In a sense somewhat different from that in which he used the words, but in a very true sense, this is *your* United States. It will be exactly what you make it, for in a few years you will be among its voters and only a little later you will be its law-makers and its executives.

That your ideals of public service may be high, that your views on public questions may be broad and thoughtful, that your courage to do the things which make for cleaner, safer,

happier living may be unyielding, is our earnest wish. Thus only can "Your United States" be all it ought to be, for itself and for all humanity. Those are the principles which underlie true patriotism in war and in peace. No nation is safe for democracy unless its citizens are inspired by such ambitions. The surest way to make the world safe is to be certain that we as individuals and as a nation think nobly and act courageously.

Does patriotism mean more or less than it did a hundred years ago? Are our standards of public and private life higher or lower? What differences will the American citizen of the year 2000 notice in comparing his times with ours?

We all have the right and duty of seeking the best form of government for our own country, but we must be careful to do this by sound and orderly methods. Our own conduct must be neither disturbing nor disloyal, nor give any excuses for such conduct in others. We should always be ready to listen to sincere suggestions which picture a contented and well-regulated people and seek to bring better days to

QUESTIONS

By what method does steady advancement usually come? Contrast the two classes of thinkers on public themes. What position would you advise the average honest citizen to take?

What are coöperative stores? Why do we have so few of them in this country? Give examples of coöperative organization now at work here.

What is Socialism? What are the chief arguments in favor of it and in opposition to it? What seem to you to be prospects of Socialism in the future? Do you think the Great War will help or hinder its progress?

What are some of the most radical ideas proposed for a new society? State the chief theories of each. How have any of them worked in practice?

SPECIAL TOPICS

Resolved, that coöperative societies for buying and selling the necessities of life should be generally organized in this country.

A Socialist's Ideas about Reforming Society.

Why I Am (or Am Not) a Socialist.

How Bolshevism Got into Power in Russia.

The Organization of the Soviet Government in Russia.
What if George Washington Could See Us Now!
What I Expect to Find Here if I Live till the Year 2000.
Experiments in Communism.
The Brook Farm Experiment.
The Oneida Community.
Liberty via Laws.
Karl Marx and His Ideas.
The Best Form of Government for Us.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Tufts: The Real Business of Living, pp. 62-65.
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Carlton: Elementary Economics, Chapter 20.
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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A
CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
PREAMBLE

WE the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. — LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. — CONGRESS

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. — HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

¹3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by add-

¹ Modified by Amendment XIV, Section 2, and Amendment XVI.

ing to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. — SENATE

1. [The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.]

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; ¹[and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies].

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

¹ Paragraph 1 and the last part of paragraph 2, in Section 3, have been replaced by Amendment XVII.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. — ELECTIONS AND SESSIONS

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. — GOVERNMENT AND RULES

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. — PRIVILEGES AND RESTRICTIONS

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. — PROCESS OF LAW-MAKING

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and, before the same shall take effect, shall

be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. — POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS¹

The Congress shall have power, —

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the

¹ Additional powers of Congress are mentioned in *Art. I*, Sect. 2, par. 3; Sect. 4, par. 1; Sect. 6, par. 1; *Art. II*, Sect. 1, pars. 4, 6; *Art. III*, Sect. 2, pars. 2, 3; Sect. 3, par. 2; *Art. IV*, Sect. 1; Sect. 3, pars. 1, 2; *Art. V*; *Amendment XIII*, Sect. 2; *Amendment XIV* Sects. 2, 3, 5; *Amendment XV*, Sect. 2; *Amendment XVI*.

militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; — and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. — POWERS DENIED TO CONGRESS¹

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

² 4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement

¹ Amendments I to X are also, directly or indirectly, limitations on the powers of Congress.

² Modified by Amendment XVI.

and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. — POWERS DENIED TO THE STATES ¹

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. — EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. — THE PRESIDENT: ELECTION AND QUALIFICATIONS

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows: —

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

¹ Supplemented by Amendments XIV and XV.

¹ 3. [The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

4. Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

¹ Replaced by Amendment XII.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. — POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. — DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public

ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. — REMOVAL OF OFFICIALS

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. — JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. — COURTS AND JUDGES

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. — JURISDICTION AND METHODS

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State,¹ between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within

¹ Modified by Amendment XI.

any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. — TREASON

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. — STATE RELATIONS

SECTION 1. — PUBLIC ACTS

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. — RIGHTS AND RESTRICTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. — NEW STATES AND NATIONAL POSSESSIONS

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no New State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. — PROTECTION OF STATES

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. — AMENDMENT

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. — AUTHORITY OF THE CONSTITUTION

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution;

but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. — RATIFICATION

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth.
In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

Go: WASHINGTON,
Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia,
[and thirty-eight other delegates.]

ARTICLES

IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ARTICLE I. — PERSONAL FREEDOM¹

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. — KEEPING AND BEARING ARMS¹

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — QUARTERING TROOPS¹

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — SECURITY OF THE HOME¹

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — SECURITY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT¹

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — RIGHTS OF PERSONS ACCUSED OF CRIME¹

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. — JURY TRIAL IN CIVIL CASES¹

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — BAIL AND PUNISHMENTS¹

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. — UNMENTIONED RIGHTS¹

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — POWERS RESERVED TO THE STATES

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI. — SUITS AGAINST STATES²

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII. — ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT³

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Represen-

¹ Amendments I to X were proposed by Congress in 1789. After ratification by the states they were proclaimed by the Secretary of State to be in force, 1791.

² Proposed, 1794, proclaimed in force, 1798.

³ Proposed, 1803, proclaimed in force, 1804.

tatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII. — SLAVERY¹

SECTION 1. — PROHIBITION

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV. — CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS²

SECTION 1. — CITIZENS AND THEIR RIGHTS

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of

¹ Proposed and proclaimed in force, 1865.

² Proposed, 1866, proclaimed in force, 1868.

life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. — APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. — LOSS OF POLITICAL PRIVILEGES

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. — PUBLIC DEBT

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. — ENFORCEMENT

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV. — RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE¹

SECTION 1. — NEGRO SUFFRAGE

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI — INCOME TAXES²

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII — ELECTION OF SENATORS³

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII — INTOXICATING LIQUORS⁴

SECTION 1. — PROHIBITION

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the

¹ Proposed, 1869, proclaimed in force, 1870.

² Proposed, 1909, proclaimed in force, 1913.

³ Proposed, 1912, proclaimed in force, 1913.

⁴ Proposed, 1917, proclaimed in force, 1919.

importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. — TIME OF RATIFICATION

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States as provided in the Constitution within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX — EQUAL SUFFRAGE¹

SECTION 1. — VOTING RIGHTS

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Proposed, 1919, proclaimed in force, 1920

APPENDIX B

STATISTICS OF THE STATES

| STATE | BECAME MEMBER OF THE UNION | AREA IN SQUARE MILES | POPULATION IN 1920 | ELECTORAL VOTE 1912-1928 |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Alabama | 1819 | 51,998 | 2,348,174 | 12 |
| Arizona | 1912 | 113,956 | 334,162 | 3 |
| Arkansas | 1836 | 53,335 | 1,752,204 | 9 |
| California | 1850 | 158,297 | 3,426,861 | 13 |
| Colorado | 1876 | 103,948 | 939,629 | 6 |
| Connecticut | 1788 | 4,965 | 1,380,631 | 7 |
| Delaware | 1787 | 2,370 | 223,003 | 3 |
| Florida | 1845 | 58,666 | 968,470 | 6 |
| Georgia | 1788 | 59,265 | 2,895,832 | 14 |
| Idaho | 1890 | 83,888 | 431,866 | 4 |
| Illinois | 1818 | 56,665 | 6,485,280 | 29 |
| Indiana | 1816 | 36,354 | 2,930,390 | 15 |
| Iowa | 1846 | 56,147 | 2,404,021 | 13 |
| Kansas | 1861 | 82,158 | 1,769,257 | 10 |
| Kentucky | 1792 | 40,598 | 2,416,630 | 13 |
| Louisiana | 1812 | 48,506 | 1,798,509 | 10 |
| Maine | 1820 | 33,040 | 768,014 | 6 |
| Maryland | 1788 | 12,327 | 1,449,661 | 8 |
| Massachusetts | 1788 | 8,266 | 3,852,356 | 18 |
| Michigan | 1837 | 57,980 | 3,668,412 | 15 |
| Minnesota | 1858 | 84,682 | 2,387,125 | 12 |
| Mississippi | 1817 | 46,865 | 1,790,618 | 10 |
| Missouri | 1821 | 69,420 | 3,404,055 | 18 |
| Montana | 1889 | 146,997 | 548,889 | 4 |
| Nebraska | 1867 | 77,520 | 1,296,372 | 8 |
| Nevada | 1864 | 110,690 | 77,407 | 3 |
| New Hampshire | 1788 | 9,341 | 443,083 | 4 |
| New Jersey | 1787 | 8,224 | 3,155,900 | 14 |
| New Mexico | 1912 | 122,634 | 360,350 | 3 |
| New York | 1788 | 49,204 | 10,385,227 | 45 |
| North Carolina | 1789 | 52,426 | 2,559,123 | 12 |
| North Dakota | 1889 | 70,837 | 646,872 | 5 |
| Ohio | 1803 | 41,040 | 5,759,394 | 24 |
| Oklahoma | 1907 | 70,057 | 2,028,283 | 10 |
| Oregon | 1859 | 96,699 | 783,389 | 5 |
| Pennsylvania | 1787 | 45,126 | 8,720,017 | 38 |
| Rhode Island | 1790 | 1,248 | 604,397 | 5 |
| South Carolina | 1788 | 30,989 | 1,683,724 | 9 |
| South Dakota | 1889 | 77,615 | 636,547 | 5 |
| Tennessee | 1796 | 42,022 | 2,337,885 | 12 |

STATISTICS OF THE STATES—(continued)

| STATE | BECAME MEMBER OF THE UNION | AREA IN SQUARE MILES | POPULATION IN 1920 | ELECTORAL VOTE 1912-1920 |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Texas | 1845 | 265,896 | 4,663,228 | 20 |
| Utah | 1896 | 84,990 | 449,396 | 4 |
| Vermont | 1791 | 9,564 | 352,428 | 4 |
| Virginia | 1788 | 42,627 | 2,309,187 | 12 |
| Washington | 1889 | 69,127 | 1,356,621 | 7 |
| West Virginia | 1863 | 24,170 | 1,463,701 | 8 |
| Wisconsin | 1848 | 56,066 | 2,632,067 | 13 |
| Wyoming | 1890 | 97,914 | 194,402 | 3 |
| Total of the States | | 3,026,719 | 105,273,049 | 531 |

OTHER POSSESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

| REGION | DATE OF ACQUI- SITION | PRESENT GOVERN- MENT | AREA IN SQUARE MILES | POPULATION IN 1920 |
|---|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Alaska | 1867 | Territory | 590,884 | 54,899 |
| District of Co- lumbia | | Federal District | 70 | 437,571 |
| Guam | 1898 | By Naval Officer | 210 | 13,275 |
| Hawaii | 1898 | Territory | 6,449 | 255,912 |
| Panama Canal Zone | 1904 | Governor and Administrative Departments under authority of President | 436 | 22,858 |
| Military and Naval Service Abroad | | | | 117,238 |
| Philippine Islands | 1899 | Colony, largely self-governing | 115,026 | 10,350,640 ¹ |
| Porto Rico | 1898 | Territory | 3,435 | 1,299,809 |
| Tutuila, Samoa | 1900 | By Naval Officer | 77 | 8,056 |
| Virgin Islands | 1917 | By Naval Officer | 138 | 26,051 ² |
| Total Possessions United States and Possessions | | | 716,725 | 12,586,309 |
| | | | 3,743,444 | 117,859,358 |

¹ Census of 1918.² Census of 1917.

APPENDIX C

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Reference Material

The *World Almanac* (New York), published at the beginning of each year, is practically a necessity to every Civics class. The *Congressional Directory*, the *Official Hand Book*, *Blue Book*, or *Manual*, published by some office in the state government, and the annual or special reports of county, city, and township officers, can usually be obtained without charge, and will give the most recent information on the governments with which they deal. From the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., can be obtained a list of the bulletins issued by the various national departments and bureaus. From this list selections can be made of the publications which will be of the most use to each school. Some of these are furnished free, but for many of them there is a small charge, sufficient only to cover the cost of publication. Similar bulletins may be issued by branches of the state government.

Several of the best weekly and monthly periodicals should be always accessible. *The Independent*, *The Literary Digest*, *The Outlook*, and *The Survey* are excellent weeklies, and *Current Opinion*, *The American City*, *The Review of Reviews*, *Current History*, and *The World's Work* are valuable monthly publications. These are all published in New York.

Clippings, pictures, and the like, will be collected by the pupils from many sources. Those which they do not care to keep for themselves can be filed, classified, and indexed. A collection of material thus secured in the course of a few years may become very valuable.

For schools which can afford the expense there should also be copies of such reference books as Bliss's *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York), McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government* (Appleton), and the *American Year Book* (Appleton) or the *International Year Book* (Dodd, Mead & Co.)

Every teacher should use bulletins of the United States Bureau of Education such as No. 23 for 1915 on *The Teaching of Community Civics*. Many of the state Boards of Education also publish valuable matter. For example, a circular of the Massachusetts Board on *The Teaching of Community Civics* contains a very helpful list of books for reading and reference, suggesting their comparative value for pupils and teachers.

Each pupil should keep his own note book, which should contain his outlines, notes taken in class or on outside reading, and such illustrative matter as he wishes to keep for his own later use and information.

Ballots, tax lists, tax receipts, warrants, subpoenas, deeds, mortgages, plans, maps, charts, contracts, licenses, and the like, from a great variety of sources, are more or less easily obtainable and are of much illustrative value.

Books

A few usable books which the pupil can read with interest and understanding, supplemented by up-to-date reference manuals, will be of far more value than shelf-loads of volumes which only practiced readers with mature minds can comprehend. Have extra copies, if possible, of the books which will be in most common demand.

Books mentioned in the references at the end of chapters will be found helpful to both pupil and teacher. We make no attempt to list the many magazine articles which would be helpful if available. Libraries which have these magazines on their shelves will probably have also the periodical indexes which can be consulted.

PART IV

Towne, *Social Problems* (Macmillan) is exceptionally useful. Duplicates of this should be available. Others include: Wright, *Practical Sociology* (Longmans); Bogart, *Economic History of the United States* (Longmans); Van Hise, *Conservation of Natural Resources* (Macmillan); Burch and Nearing, *Elements of Economics* (Macmillan); Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor* (Heath); Ross, *The Old World in the New, and Changing America* (Century); Steiner, *The Immigrant Tide*, and *The Trail of the Immigrant* (Revell); Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents* (Heath); Warner, *American Charities* (Crowell); Haworth, *America in Ferment* (Bobbs, Merrill & Co.); Puffer, *Vocational Guidance* (Rand, McNally); Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guid-*

ance (Ginn); Gowin and Wheatly, *Occupations* (Ginn); Literature of the National Child Labor Committee, The National Consumer's League (New York), and similar organizations.

Lessons in Community and National Life, a series published monthly during the school year of 1917-1918 by the National Bureau of Education under the editorship of Dr. Charles H. Judd, will be found helpful on many of the topics in Part IV and some in Parts I and II.

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